RUIN NATION

DESTRUCTION AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

MEGAN KATE NELSON

VISIT…

RUIN NATION

un CIVIL WARS

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Ruin Nation

Destruction and the American Civil War

MEGAN KATE NELSON

The University of Georgia Press *Athens and London*

Published by The University of Georgia Press
Athens, Georgia 30602
www.ugapress.org

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Set in Berthold Baskerville by Graphic Composition, Inc., Bogart, Georgia.

Printed digitally in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Nelson, Megan Kate, 1972–
Ruin nation : destruction and the American Civil War / Megan Kate Nelson.
p. cm. — (UnCivil wars)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8203-3397-7 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8203-3397-2 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN-13: 978-0-8203-4251-1 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8203-4251-3 (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. United States — History — Civil War, 1861–1865 — Destruction and pillage.
2. United States — History — Civil War, 1861–1865 — Social aspects.
3. United States — History — Civil War, 1861–1865 — Psychological aspects.
4. United States — History — Civil War, 1861–1865 — Casualties.
5. United States — History — Civil War, 1861–1865 — Influence.
I. Title.
E468.9.N45 2012
973.7 — dc23 2011040358

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data available

ISBN for this digital edition: 978-0-8203-4379-2

FOR DAN

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This is what war *does*. . . . War rends. War rips open, eviscerates. War scorches. War dismembers. War *ruins*.
– Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*

The Civil War is our only "felt" history – history lived in the national imagination. This is not to say that the War is always, and by all men, felt in the same way. Quite the contrary. But this fact is an index to the very complexity, depth, and fundamental significance of the event. It is an overwhelming and vital image of human, and national, experience.
– Robert Penn Warren, *The Legacy of the Civil War*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book – like its subject – has a long history. So it is no surprise that in researching and writing it I have accumulated a long list of debts. At the University of Georgia Press, Derek Krissoff has been a champion of the project from the beginning and an ideal editor. I cannot thank him enough for his words of encouragement, his sense of humor, and his willingness to put on the pressure when I needed it. Steve Berry recruited me for the Weirding the War Conference at the University of Georgia in the fall of 2009 and has subsequently been a wonderful collaborator; his creativity and embrace of the offbeat in Civil War studies have been an inspiration. I also thank John Inscoe for introducing me to Steve and for being an enthusiastic supporter of the project all along. Conversations with Paul Sutter and Mike Vorenberg have shaped my ideas about the intersections of southern, Civil War, and environmental history.

I spent much of the past eight years traveling to archives and to Civil War sites across the South and in New England. I could not have done so without financial support from a variety of institutions. In 2007, Tom Klammer and the Dean's Office at Cal State Fullerton's School of Humanities and Social Sciences provided me with start-up funds, which I used to visit Virginia's archives and battlefields. An Untenured Faculty Development Program Grant from Cal State Fullerton in the spring of 2007 gave me the time to write up some of my ideas. I also received funding in 2008 through the Mellon Research Fellowship at the Virginia Historical Society; the Jay T. Last Fellowship in Graphic Arts at the American Antiquarian Society; the Suzanne and Caleb Loring Fellowship in Civil War Studies at the Boston Athenaeum and the Massachusetts Historical Society; and the Institute for Southern Studies Research Grant at the University of South Carolina. A New England Regional Fellowship Consortium Grant took me to the New Hampshire Historical Society; Maine Historical Society; Connecticut Historical Society; Rhode Island Historical Society; Center for the History of Medicine at Harvard Medical School; Houghton Library at Harvard University; and Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study.

The curators, librarians, and staff members at all of these archives (and others) were wonderfully helpful and patient as I called one manuscript after another related to what must have seemed a bewildering array of subjects. In particular, I thank Gigi Barnhill, Paul Erickson, Lauren Hewes, Elizabeth Watts Pope, and Laura Wascowicz at the American Antiquarian Society; Nelson Lankford, Frances Pollard, E. Lee Shepard, and Katherine Wilkins at the Virginia Historical Society; Peter Drummey and Conrad Wright at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Stephen Nonack, Sally Pierce, and Catharina Slautterback at the Boston Athenaeum; Candace Kanes, Nicholas Noyes, and Jamie Kingman Rice at the Maine Historical Society; Richard Malley and Susan Schoelwer at the Connecticut Historical Society; Lee Teverow at the Rhode Island Historical Society; Beth Bilderback and Henry Fulmer at the South Caroliniana Library; and P. Toby Graham at the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia.

Ruin Nation benefited from the suggestions of archivists and from the comments and questions of my colleagues. I began the research for this book while an assistant professor in the Honors College at Texas Tech University, and Susan Tomlinson and Kurt Caswell read the first words about ruins that I put on the page. My students and colleagues at Cal State Fullerton, especially Natalie Fousekis, Allison Varzally, and Ben Cawthra, joined me on panels and in hallway discussions about ruins in every form. At the notoriously collegial American Antiquarian Society, Paul Erickson, Nat Hurley, Adam Nelson, Meredith Neuman, Dave Nord, and Beth Barton Schweiger helped me to shape my vision of the project. I have presented parts of *Ruin Nation* at a wide variety of conferences, receiving excellent feedback at all of them. The intellectual communities that the Weirding the War conference at the University of Georgia and the Antiquities and Ruins in Nineteenth-Century America conference at the Huntington Library created and fostered were invigorating. Thanks to Steve Berry and to Karen Halttunen and Seth Cotlar for inviting me to join in the fun. The regular participants in the Boston Environmental History Seminar at the Massachusetts Historical Society, especially Tony Penna and Conrad Wright, have welcomed me into a vibrant and productive group of environmental studies scholars. At professional meetings, my fellow panelists and commentators have provided invaluable insights: Brian Black, Lisa Brady, Alice Fahs, David Moltke-Hansen, Sarah J. Purcell,

Aaron Sachs, Merritt Roe Smith, and Sam Truett. Throughout my travels, I also met generous colleagues who have subsequently sent me quotations and materials: Jim Davis, Brian Craig Miller, Amy Murrell Taylor, and Colin Woodward. Karen Halttunen and Aaron Sachs pushed me to streamline my arguments and make critical changes to my approach; their wise counsel has made *Ruin Nation* a better book.

There are abundant images of ruination included in these pages. They appear because photographs, lithographs, and engravings are invaluable and often underutilized resources for the study of Civil War and American environmental history. They also appear because Nicole Mitchell at the University of Georgia Press partially funded their reproduction; for this support I am profoundly grateful. I am indebted to Anthony Whitaker for granting permission to use his photograph, *Steel Standing.* I also benefited from the enthusiastic and efficient work of rights and reproduction coordinators at a range of archives: Pat Boulos at the Boston Athenaeum; Nicole Contaxis at the New-York Historical Society; Anna Cook at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Nancy Finlay at the Connecticut Historical Society; Liz Kurtulik at Art Resource/Metropolitan Museum of Art; and especially Jackie Penny at the American Antiquarian Society.

The team at the University of Georgia Press, particularly Jon Davies, Ellen Goldlust-Gingrich, John Joerschke, John McLeod, and Beth Snead, has made the book leaner, meaner, and more beautiful.

My closest friends have encouraged me in word and in deed: Christopher Capozzola, Tita Chico, Jen Medearis Costello, Paul Erickson, Amy Spellacy, and Nora Titone.

I began my historical wanderings a long, long time ago. Every summer, my parents, my brother, and I would crisscross the nation in our beat-up Pontiac, careening to a stop at historic sites and highway markers. As I have continued in my travels, I am grateful for those trips and for my parents' encouragement of my curiosity in what lies along the road.

Daniel Nelson has seen this project grow from a seed of an idea into a green shoot of argument, transplanted from Texas to California to Massachusetts. Thirteen years ago, we promised each other that we would always engage in intellectual fisticuffs and that we would always seek out adventures. Over the years, we have made good on those vows in so many different ways. Dan, this book is yours and mine, together.

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RUIN NATION

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INTRODUCTION

American Ruins

On a blustery day in December 1864, New York soldier and former Andersonville prisoner of war John Worrell Northrop clutched the railings of a Confederate flag-of-truce vessel in Charleston Harbor. He and his fellow prisoners were to be exchanged, transferred to a Union boat that lay past Fort Moultrie, farther out in open water. Despite the weakness in his legs as a result of prolonged starvation, Northrop stood on the deck, attempting to catch a glimpse of the Union boat. "We could not see our streaming banner," he wrote, "but we felt it." The storm drove the Confederate ship ashore, however, and Northrop was forced to disembark in Charleston, his exchange delayed for another day. As he marched through the city, still in Confederate hands, he was "utterly amazed." Here were large buildings transformed into "dead heaps of ruins – brick and dust." Weeds grew knee-high, thrusting up out of the cracks in "sidewalks torn up with shell." Every step of the way, "every door and window, pillar and veranda, post or sign, was desolation." Protected from the storm's icy winds, the city lay still, the air "dreamy, ancient." Northrop

contemplated Charleston's ruins – its buildings destroyed by a systematic siege and regular shelling since August 1863 – and determined that "it is not Pompeii or Thebes; but it is our own architecture, built by our fathers, even ourselves, in our own age and generation, and in our new world, in ruins as awfully sublime as they."[1]

Between 1861 and 1865, southern cities were transformed into "dead heaps of ruins," novel sights in the American landscape. True, urban fires were not unusual, and hundreds of city blocks had burned in antebellum conflagrations. But Northrop and many other wartime observers perceived the ruins of Charleston and other southern cities as different. These were not the ruins of accident or natural disaster; Americans had made these ruins using the violent technologies of war and in accordance with evolving and malleable laws of warfare. One Union soldier visiting the destroyed city of Fredericksburg just a month after the war ended found urban ruins to be the most "humiliating" aspect of civil war. It was terrible "to see an American city battered in this way," he lamented, "and this too, by Americans."[2] Such ruins were self-inflicted and deliberately created; they were also sudden and shocking. These were not the romantic ruins of long centuries, neglect, or abandonment. What had been a building a few minutes earlier was now in pieces. These three definitive elements of wartime ruins – that they were made by humans, made by Americans, and instantaneous – provoked a range of concerns about how the nature of war shaped the nature of humanity and about how destroying so much of what had made the nation could possibly sustain the Union. These were disturbing issues for all Americans to ponder during and after the war.

In this study, I conceive of the "ruin" as a material whole that has violently broken into parts; enough of these parts must remain in situ, however, that the observer can recognize what they used to be. This interplay between the whole past and the fragmented present of Civil War ruins captivated many observers, often giving them an unsettling (but not entirely unpleasant) sense of temporal dislocation. Northrop and other soldiers looked on the ruins of southern cities and felt their "dreamy, ancient" air, imagining Pompeii and Thebes. Ruins seemed to capture the moment of transformation from one time to another, from one material form to another. This process of change – *ruination* – was a common

theme in antebellum literature (the bildungsroman) and art (the polyptych, a narrative told in multiple images). It was also evocative during a cultural moment when Americans' sense of time and its measurement was changing; most antebellum Americans observed both natural and mechanized time, looking to the sun and the stars in addition to watches and town and plantation clocks to situate themselves at specific moments of day and night.[3] The ruin's ability to embody both temporal and material change during the Civil War provoked a torrent of commentary in letters, diaries, battle reports, newspaper articles, photographs, and illustrations. Out of the destruction of their own landscape – and in its reconstruction both in material reality and in words and images – northerners and southerners alike created a new national narrative.

This narrative tracked the course of the war through its destructive practices; it was not a simple narrative, and it did not provide easy answers to disturbing questions. It took on an array of ruins, each with its own meanings. Architectural ruins – cities and houses – dominated the stories that soldiers and civilians told about the Civil War; chapters 1 and 2 of *Ruin Nation* examine the ways that both southerners and northerners used architectural ruins to contemplate the "savage" behavior of humans and the invasions of domestic privacy during wartime. But the ruins of living things – trees and bodies – also provoked discussion and debate. Chapters 3 and 4 consider how forests and men were blown apart, creating anxieties about the impact of wartime technologies on the natural world and individual identity. The obliteration of cities, houses, trees, and men was a shared experience during the Civil War; between 1861 and 1865, almost every soldier and civilian encountered the fragments of war in some form.

But Americans read these ruins in different ways depending on who they were, where they lived, the type of object destroyed, the moment in time, and who had done the destroying. This wide range of responses to Civil War destruction suggests the tremendous symbolic flexibility of the war's many kinds of ruins and of the narrative created to explain and contain them. Nevertheless, northerners and southerners reacted in similar or even identical ways to wartime ruination. Therein lies one of the ironies of the war's ruin narrative and of this book: in a time of the most extreme national divisiveness – a civil war – its participants found common ground in their consideration of its costs.

Many observers recognized that these different types of ruins shared several elements. First, they all reveal the basic adage that war's purpose is to destroy, to obliterate the material and human resources of the enemy. But war's purpose is also to create, often out of precisely the ruins it requires. War unmakes as well as makes – and remakes – space.[4] War creates new landscapes, such as the vast camps that Union and Confederate soldiers built during the cold southern winters. It also gives rise to new technologies that attempt to rebuild or replace what has been lost, such as the prosthetics that made veteran amputees whole again. War also compels its participants to produce words and images, both of which construct narratives of the conflict and make sense of its events. In a more abstract sense, war produces feelings of national pride – in this case, powerful emotions related to both the Union and the Confederacy as well as to the United States. This tension between what war destroys and what it creates is embodied in ruins and makes them such a dynamic cultural force and the centerpiece of the national wartime narrative.

Second, all four types of the ruins discussed in this book were ephemeral. Within a generation of their production, most of them had disappeared from the American landscape. City buildings and homes were rebuilt or their materials were repurposed as southerners got on with the work of *literal* reconstruction. The acres of stumps and tree shards that soldiers created on the march, in camp, and in battle grew over with successive species. The men who fought lived the longest; veteran amputees survived into the twentieth century, but then they, too, were gone. What are left are merely traces, not ruins: stone foundations, a lone chimney here or there, grassy mounds marking former earthworks, fragments of bone in a medical cabinet. I discuss this phenomenon in the conclusion, suggesting some reasons for the postwar American preference for traces rather than ruins in the country's historic landscapes.

When they first went to war, many northerners and southerners had already developed reference points with which to evaluate its destruction. Contrary to what a range of cultural critics from J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur in the late eighteenth century to Michel Makarius in the twenty-first have argued, America in fact had "a taste for ruins of all kinds" prior to the Civil War.[5] Most Americans lacked the funds to travel

abroad on the European Grand Tour to see the ruins of the Roman Campagna or Athens's Parthenon, but those who made such voyages wrote travel narratives to which a broadly literate American public had access. Antebellum American painters embraced the ruin as an aesthetic subject, producing canvases that depicted real and imagined shards of wall, broken columns, and empty windows; engravers and lithographers reproduced these images for insertion in books or for sale as single sheets.[6] Americans of some little means could buy images of ruins to decorate their homes. People could also produce such images as they learned to draw and paint. Because ruins provided opportunities for depicting light and shadow and multiple textures, they were popular subjects in drawing manuals.[7] By 1861, ruins were accepted elements of the conventional landscape scene, and Americans enjoyed contemplating the many ideas – the fall of empires, the triumph of nature over culture, the romanticism of failure – that rubble visually embodied.

Americans also had the language to describe both ruins and the ideas they evoked. During the antebellum period, most middle-class Americans were familiar with the sublime and the picturesque, aesthetic categories usually applied to natural and built landscapes that were key elements of Romantic discourse. The sublime communicated a vastness and grandeur that left the viewer awestruck and slightly afraid (such as jagged mountain ranges). Picturesque scenes were characterized by pleasing contrasts and surprises, irregular deviations in texture, light, or color that spark curiosity (for example, winding pathways that reveal a vista).[8] These categories were well established not only in the literary high culture of essays on aesthetics published in Europe in the late eighteenth century but also in the more middling culture of travel narratives that appeared widely in newspapers and magazines and the American and European tourist guides that proliferated in the 1830s.[9]

Antebellum Americans applied this language of the sublime and the picturesque to both ruins in Europe and those in the Middle East and Central America. They devoured the reports of explorers, archeologists, and missionaries narrating the excavations of long-buried cities – Babylon, Tarquinia, Veii, Nineveh, Thebes, and the Roman Campagna – and bought John Lloyd Stephens's lavishly illustrated 1842 account of ruins in Mexico and Central America, through which "Mayan ruins broke

dramatically into the world's imagination."[10] The American Ethnological Society was founded in the same year, and its members eagerly published the accounts of soldiers marching into Central America's "ancient climes" as part of the Mexican War effort four years later. The letters and reports of these martial explorers gave Americans glimpses "of the ruins of unknown cities – the vast and curious abodes of unknown and extinct nations – and of living races of which we have scarcely heard the names before."[11] These soldiers found the obscure and mysterious remains of the Aztec empire captivating. They clambered up the slippery sides of the ancient pyramid of Cholula – destroyed by the Spanish conquistadors, its inhabitants massacred – and experienced a sense of connection with the "hoary centuries which have passed."[12]

Although many Mexican War soldiers and their families back home embraced Mexico's ancient ruins as their own, others began to seek out ruins with a more distinctly American character and to create a Grand Tour on which to view them.[13] Enabled by the opening of the Erie Canal (itself a kind of tourist attraction, a great example of American technological ingenuity), middle- and upper-class Americans could take excursions up the Hudson River and gain access to the Catskills, Lake George, Niagara Falls, the White Mountains, and the Connecticut Valley. The tragic and ruined forts of the Seven Years' War, Forts William Henry and George, were essential stops for the picturesque traveler. So were the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, farther north on the shores of Lake Champlain. There was also a route to the South, concentrated mostly in Virginia, that encompassed the mineral springs of the Appalachian and Blue Ridge Mountains in addition to the colonial and Revolutionary War sites of Jamestown, Yorktown, and Williamsburg.[14] John Gadsby Chapman celebrated these homegrown American ruins in a painting, *Ruins of Jamestown* (1834), flooding the scene with light and depicting a glowing shard of wall, partly overgrown with verdant foliage, as a beacon of hope.

As Anglo-Americans began to move westward over the course of the antebellum period, new ruins came into view. Widespread curiosity about the excavated earthworks of the native "Mound Builders" in the Mississippi Valley resulted in an antebellum bestseller, Josiah Priest's *American Antiquities and Discoveries in the West*, which sold twenty-two thousand copies between 1833 and 1835.[15] A community of antiquarians

and archaeologists argued that these mounds were evidence that North America was the "cradle of the human race" and that the ancient peoples who built them did so, as poet William Cullen Bryant put it,

> while yet the Greek
> was hewing the Pentelicus to forms
> Of symmetry, and rearing on its rock
> The glittering Parthenon.[16]

These mounds were America's Parthenon, its proof of an ancient, glorious past. But other ruins in the West were more worrisome. John Russell Bartlett, who traveled into the southwestern borderlands as part of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary Commission after the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, came upon deserted villages, fallow fields, and the crumbling ruins of missions and forts, all abandoned after the destructive Apache and Comanche raids of the 1830s and 1840s. The region's silver mines were similarly desolate, their wooden supports rotting and large heaps of rocks, heaved up from the mineshafts, strewn about the landscape. These were the ruins of an American character, emblems of the boom-bust economy of the antebellum era and a landscape of failure in the Southwest.[17]

Such sites of American economic ruin were not limited to the West, however; there were plenty of ruins for Americans to see in burgeoning urban centers. Antebellum city dwellers flocked to the smoking ruins of giant conflagrations. In 1805, an accidental fire burned the city of Detroit to the ground in three hours; in 1835, a warehouse in New York's nascent financial district ignited and destroyed more than 650 buildings in the Wall Street area. Such fires were the result of the extraordinary rate of antebellum urbanization: The hastily built wooden buildings clustered along central streets and the proliferation of factories and warehouses with coal-fired and steam-powered machinery in these corridors created the conditions for destruction.[18] These fires created spectacular ruins; those that the fluctuations of market capitalism produced, however, were less aesthetically pleasing. As businesses boomed and then busted in the 1830s and 1840s, city buildings – banks, factories, merchant exchanges – were abandoned and later torn down in fits of urban renewal. The redevelopment of mixed-use neighborhoods resulted in the razing of hundreds of city buildings, "each of which briefly resembled ruins in their

half-demolished state." These ruins of industrialization were "untimely" in the sense that they were produced seemingly instantaneously and then disappeared almost as quickly.[19] In this, they had much in common with Civil War ruins.

American ruins were present in many different material forms (Indian mounds, abandoned silver mines, half-demolished mansions) across the landscape by 1861, at the same time that the figure of the ruin was also playing a more dominant role in political culture. Democrats, Whigs, and Republicans used ruins rhetorically – and increasingly so on the eve of Civil War – to describe secession and its costs.[20] Most conceived of the U.S. government as a mighty edifice, which either disunion or free-state tyranny (depending on one's point of view) would bring tumbling to the ground. Abraham Lincoln used this imagery most memorably in his June 1858 speech at the Republican National Convention, pointing out that "a house divided against itself cannot stand" and conveying his belief that the Union would not fall but would "cease to be divided."[21] As the crisis intensified, metaphorical ruins proliferated in the speeches and private correspondence of prominent Americans. When South Carolina representatives debated secession in December 1860, *New York Times* founder Henry Jarvis Raymond advised his fire-eating Alabama friend, William Lowndes Yancey, that while southerners hoped to leave the Union unopposed, they would never succeed. "Disunion means war," Raymond wrote sternly, "the formal dissolution of the nation and the creation of another upon its ruins."[22] A few weeks later, Yancey's protégé, John Gill Shorter, wrote to Joseph Emerson Brown, the governor of Georgia, that the good people of his state were devoted to the "Union of the Constitution" but scorned "the Union which fanaticism would erect upon its ruins."[23] Each side saw the other's actions as bringing about the obliteration of the nation; by 1861, the ruination of the country – politically and materially – in support of either the Union or the Confederacy seemed inevitable.

And the war did indeed ruin the country. The scale of wartime devastation has recently come under scrutiny as a way to determine either the moral culpability of soldiers and civilians or the economic state of the South during Reconstruction.[24] However, few Civil War historians have examined how soldiers and civilians viewed their ability to obliterate

landscapes and lives and the resulting ruins. *Ruin Nation* is the first book to consider the evocative power of wartime ruination as an imagined state, an act of destruction, and a process of change. This interplay between material and imagined ruins shapes each chapter, as it considers how and why soldiers and civilians smashed things to pieces and then examines how they understood the debris. This volume is also the first study that connects four different forms of ruin (cities, houses, trees, and bodies) as significant parts of an evolving national narrative of warfare and expands the conception of "ruin" to living things.[25] My analysis of the cultural significance of the missing and rebuilt limbs of wartime amputees is new as well, part of a burgeoning field that examines the war from the viewpoint of bodies on the ground and in hospital beds.[26]

Like the ruins it describes, therefore, *Ruin Nation* is many things at once. It is a study of soldiers' lives and bodies; a work of environmental history; a study of the human-made landscape; and an inquiry into American architecture, both urban and domestic. It is a cultural study of war and all that it both creates and destroys.

ONE

Our Own Pompeii

Ruined Cities

Urban centers owe their existence to warfare. The earliest human communities created defensive strongholds to safeguard themselves and their wealth from attack; the towns that survived over the centuries are "palimpsests of 1,000 years of defensive architecture."[1] Most American cities were not forts or citadels, however; they evolved as economic and political centers in the absence of constant, large-scale warfare. As such, ironically, they invited attack. Union and Confederate soldiers used smoothbore and rifled cannon and incendiary torches to convert many of the South's cities and large towns into piles of rubble as part of larger campaigns. Most military commanders on both sides of the conflict believed that laying siege to and capturing cities were important wartime strategies. The Union armies' major campaigns between 1861 and 1865 focused on reaching and taking the South's urban centers. Some were targeted for their productive capacities, while others occupied strategic locations important to the positioning of massive armies in the field. Over the course of the war, many of the South's largest cities – Charleston, Richmond, and Atlanta,

most prominently – lost more than one-third of their buildings. A host of smaller cities and larger towns on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line shared this fate. Urban ruination provided opportunities for both northerners and southerners, white and black, to articulate their wartime anxieties and desires. The destruction of city architecture – warehouses, churches, government buildings, and business districts – provoked discussion (much of it angry) regarding the ways that modern warfare altered American society and its landscapes.

The reasons for and responses to the destruction of individual cities reveal a host of different meanings found among the rubble. The ruins of Hampton, Virginia, were the first of the Civil War, and they established the major themes of a shared national discourse of civilized warfare. Hampton's ruins also revealed the ways that soldiers and civilians – and in this case, fugitive slaves – appropriated ruins for their own use. Most northern civilians did not directly experience the threat of urban warfare between 1861 and 1865, but one northern city, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, paid the price for Union soldiers' destructive activities in the southern landscape. The deliberate burning of this town in July 1864 incited disputes about the legitimacy of retaliation and the act of taking responsibility for urban defense and destruction. Culpability was also a key element of the firestorm of accusations and denunciations following the great conflagration in Columbia, South Carolina, in February 1865; neither southern general Wade Hampton nor northern general William Tecumseh Sherman took responsibility for the destruction, and what followed was a decades-long dispute that focused on the relationship between wartime acts of ruination and masculine honor. Military engagements transformed these three cities from thriving centers of commerce into smoking piles of brick; their alteration was shocking and caused widespread consternation about the nature of warfare. Urban ruins were also captivating in their novelty. "It is our own architecture!," John Northrop had objected in amazement; these were the ruins of old in the cities of a new nation, inconceivable and terrifying.

"On to Richmond!": Cities as Military Targets

In the early seventeenth century, European colonists in North America chose high ground on which to plant their towns and built palisades to protect against native attacks. After smallpox and other disease epidemics wiped out 80–90 percent of the Native American population by 1700, however, indigenous peoples did not seriously threaten colonial towns and cities. As a result, America's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cities did not take the shape of the fortified towns and garrison cities of Europe. Instead, they sprawled outward from their centers and became increasingly industrialized; urban residents' main concern was not military defense but commercial prosperity.[2] For these reasons, American cities were targets during antebellum wars, and by 1861, military men trained at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (who held most of the higher positions in both the Union and Confederate Armies) understood that warfare involved two principal areas of action: Napoleonic warfare in the field, which placed two massive and mobile armies face-to-face, and siege warfare against the enemy's cities, using mobile and long-range artillery against fortifications.[3]

Despite the fact that cities and towns had proliferated along the eastern seaboard and the interior on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line by 1861 and the fact that most military tacticians wanted to avoid urban battles, which were often fragmented and chaotic, both Union and Confederate commanders made the capture of enemy cities a major component of their campaigns. They had several goals. First, all acts of warfare almost always involve attempts to gain control over the enemy's landscape. What really mattered was "the acquisition of real estate" – meaning cities and military installations. For aggressive imperialists waging war, what followed was the resettlement or elimination of these enemy urban populations.[4] During the American Civil War, however, taking cities was not about killing people (although sometimes this was unavoidable) but was about striking political, economic, and psychological blows. Most Americans assumed that the fall of Washington, D.C., or Richmond would mean victory for one side and defeat for the other: after all, how could the body politic function without its nerve center? To this end, the Lincoln administration authorized the immediate fortification of Washington in April

1861 and continued to build its defensive system. By 1865, the network included sixty-eight enclosed forts and batteries, thirteen miles of perimeter trenches, and 1,421 gun platforms.[5] The Union's largest army in the field, the Army of the Potomac, was ordered to defend the city and launch campaigns to capture the Confederate capital. General Winfield Scott was confident in this plan. "The defeat of the Rebels, at Richmond," he wrote to Lincoln in June 1862, "would be a virtual end to the rebellion."[6]

Washington and Richmond were political centers; they and other urban areas across the nation were also sites of commerce and manufacturing. Bombarding them halted their productivity and, in the best-case scenario, destroyed any factories or foundries churning out war materiel. Interrupt or incapacitate the enemy's ability to arm or clothe itself and the war ends.[7] Thus, movements against cities constituted "hard war"—the "unleashing of armed men against a hostile population" on the home front—and their most important effect was psychological.[8] Most strategists believed that the intense and thus memorable shock that a city's surrender delivered would bring a swift end to the conflict. The victors achieved not just a technological victory of weapons over defenses but also a "moral disintegration of the opposition, bringing the enemy to the point where it can go not further physically, emotionally, or ideologically."[9] In addition, military theorists assumed that after the fall of a major city, a people, both soldiers and civilians, lost a sense of territorial integrity. In the context of the Civil War, Confederates rooted their political faith in the Confederacy as a shared landscape of slavery that they mapped out and understood geographically. If this sense of territorial cohesion were ruptured, most Americans, northern and southern, believed that the Confederacy itself would fall.[10] All of these theories that informed military campaigns against cities between 1861 and 1865 were rooted in two convictions: that violent acts of destruction had an emotional impact in addition to a material reality, and that the emotions of both soldiers and civilians had the power to determine the course of the war.

One element of urban warfare that neither military historians nor army regulations addressed, however, was the deliberate annihilation of one's own cities to prevent them from falling into enemy hands. Converting a military aggressor's act of domination into a defensive maneuver of defiance, the destruction (or attempted destruction) of southern cities by their

defenders was common during the Civil War. Confederate soldiers set fire to urban factories and armories as they retreated from Atlanta, Savannah, Columbia, and Richmond. The ruins they created had a different valence from those destroyed by Union firepower, prompting disputes about the validity of such a strategy and the importance of cities during times of war. In August 1861, Confederate troops under General John B. Magruder set fire to the town of Hampton, Virginia, convinced they could not keep it from falling to Union soldiers stationed at Fortress Monroe. In so doing, Confederates created the first urban ruins of the war, thereby shaping the debate about the nature of warfare and the debris it created.

A Wanton and Unnecessary Act: Hampton, Virginia

On a warm, still day in early July 1861, Rhode Island soldier Edward A. Goodwin obtained a leave of absence from his commander and took a stroll through Hampton, Virginia, a southern port city that Union soldiers had occupied in late May. He headed toward the town's most famous building, St. John's Episcopal Church, which some believed to be the oldest church in the United States.[11] Virginia colonists had imported the bricks from England, and Goodwin had heard that the structure was "so strong that it is said a cannon ball will make little impression on it." The church had been used as a defensive bulwark against the Algonquian peoples in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and American patriots had sought refuge there during the Revolutionary War. Goodwin clambered up four rickety ladders to the church tower and "took a good look from all four of the belfry windows." He thought the view was magnificent. "As far as the eye could reach, one continued scene of verdure appeared," he wrote. Thick, leafy shade trees clustered along "the streets of the whole village; while beyound, and streching far away into the distance, could be seen the remains of the 'forest primeval.'"[12] One month later, St. John's Church and the surrounding streets lay in ruins, the shady trees defoliated by the searing heat of a fire that destroyed the more than five hundred buildings in the town. As the first large-scale urban ruin of the war, Hampton became a different town entirely, converted into a military landscape home to northern soldiers and fugitive slaves.[13]

The town of Hampton sits at the confluence of the James River and the Chesapeake Bay in eastern Virginia, at the tip of what became known

during the war as simply "the Peninsula." Its geographic location was of "great strategic importance to an enemy with the power to attack the United States' southeastern seaboard" because it provided access to Richmond (about seventy-five miles up the James River) and to the rich plantations of the Virginia interior.[14] Hampton was a port town, a site of transfer for crops and slaves awaiting transportation up the Peninsula or out to sea. By 1860, almost six thousand people lived in Hampton and its hinterlands: about thirty-two hundred whites, twenty-four hundred slaves, and two hundred free blacks. Between 50 and 60 percent of this population lived or worked in the city proper.[15] In May 1861, after Virginia's residents had voted to secede, General Scott transferred two regiments of Massachusetts soldiers to Fortress Monroe, several miles southeast of the town; additional Union soldiers continued to arrive increasing the size of the garrison from four hundred to twelve thousand men. Confederate forces under Colonel Benjamin Ewell, who were charged with defending the Peninsula, determined that they could not keep Hampton from falling into the hands of Union "invaders." They advised white residents to evacuate the town and to take all of their movable property – including slaves – with them.[16]

When preparations for an evacuation began, however, many of Hampton's slaves did not simply accept their removal; instead, they considered several options for determining their futures. On May 24, 1861, Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townshend, all of whom belonged to Colonel Charles Mallory, took advantage of a dark night and fled to Fortress Monroe, appealing for sanctuary when they arrived. When Confederate major John Cary of the Virginia Artillery appeared the next day and demanded the return of these three men under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Union major general Benjamin Butler denied the request, informing Cary that because Virginia considered itself separated from the Union, its slaveholders no longer had claims under federal policies such as the Fugitive Slave Act. This early decision led to Butler's famous decree that because slaves could be employed to dig fortifications and engage in other acts of hostility against the Union, bondsmen and bondswomen would be considered "contraband of war" and subject to confiscation at will. The Lincoln administration initially hesitated and then approved Butler's policy, and in August, the U.S. Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, endorsing Butler's proposed classification.[17] At this point, the

town of Hampton transformed into a site of a controversy regarding the role of slaves and slavery in the conflict and a racialized landscape of war.

By late July 1861, almost one thousand fugitive slaves who had confiscated themselves gathered around Fortress Monroe, and Butler wrote a series of letters and reports to Secretary of War Simon Cameron asking for orders regarding their housing and care.[18] Several of these letters and reports were published in the northern papers, and one of them—probably from the *New York Tribune*—found its way into the hands of General Magruder, who was in command of southern forces on the Peninsula. Union soldiers (including Goodwin) had occupied and then retreated from Hampton earlier that month after the Union defeat at Bull Run, but Magruder had not garrisoned the town.[19] On August 6, after reading one of Butler's reports, Magruder concluded that the Union general considered slaves to be free and "would colonize them at Hampton, the home of most of their owners." He knew that as a result of its proximity to Fortress Monroe, the town had been "the harbor of runaway slaves and traitors" and that "it could not be held by us even if taken." Magruder regretted that Hampton's white residents had not destroyed it when they left in May and moved to rectify this mistake. "When I found from the above report [Hampton's] extreme importance to the enemy," he wrote, "and that the town itself would lend great strength to whatever fortifications they might erect around it, I determined to burn it at once."[20]

Just before midnight on August 7, 1861, four companies of men, many of them "persons from this portion of the country and many of them from Hampton," gave notice to the twenty-five or so white residents still living there and ran through the streets with torches, setting fire to the business district and the houses that fanned out from the core of the town. The fire moved rapidly from east to west, away from the water and Fortress Monroe.[21] An Associated Press correspondent reported that "the glare of the conflagration was so brilliant that I was enabled to write by it" and that a strong south wind fanned the flames. The fire raged all night, he noted, and "a more sublime and awful spectacle has never yet been witnessed." Observers reported that around five hundred buildings had been reduced to ashes and piles of rubble and that only seven or eight remained standing. The next morning, nothing was left "to mark the once beautiful Hampton but the charred, towering chimneys," while "smoke ascending from the ruins" wafted lazily in the air.[22]

Union flag officer S. H. Stringham, stationed on the USS *Minnesota* in the waters of Hampton Roads that night, reported that the "conflagration was the act of the traitors."[23] Magruder had several motives for burning Hampton, the most strategic one being that he hoped to "force the attention of the authorities at Washington to this Peninsula" to draw regiments to the area and away from the defenses around the North's capital city.[24] But his other motivations were rooted in the status of Hampton as a deserted city – already desolated by abandonment before the fire. The evacuation of the town's white residents in May had left buildings vulnerable to appropriation as camps for Union soldiers or fugitive slaves. Confederate civilians found both prospects offensive; Magruder's explanations for the burning of the town shaped the way that southerners understood it as part of the fight for the Confederacy, revealing that the creation of the meanings of war ruins begin with the initial act of destruction.

For many southerners, it was important to know, as Magruder pointed out in his report, that Hampton's citizens took part in razing their homes and those of their neighbors. The general framed the act as having been planned and executed in collaboration with the citizens: "The gentlemen at Hampton, most of whom are in the army under my command, seemed to concur with me as to the propriety of this course."[25] This assertion presented the burning and the ruins that it created as a civilian "sacrifice" rather than military strategy, a patriotic act of devotion to the Confederacy on the part of its citizens. In January 1862, the *Richmond Enquirer* published "The Hampton Exiles," paying tribute to the city's white citizens, who had "abandoned and destroyed their own homes, rather than accept protection from the invaders of the soil, coupled with submission to their authority." In a letter to the editor lauding the article, a Confederate calling himself "X" suggested that those families "now suffering for their self-sacrifices" deserved the attention and aid of their fellow Virginians. He suggested that the editors of the *Enquirer* initiate a "subscription" fund; readers could send money, which the editors would forward to Colonel John B. Cary, who was lodging many of the white refugees from Hampton in a Confederate camp at Yorktown (and who had requested the return of Hampton's first wartime fugitive slaves the previous May). The editors resoundingly approved of this plan, noting that "any subscriptions to the above object will be cheerfully received at this office."[26]

The *Enquirer*'s readers responded enthusiastically, seeing the fund as a way to reward fellow Confederates for the patriotism symbolized in Hampton's ruins and to demonstrate their own patriotic generosity. In February 1862, the ladies of the Greenville Aid Society in Hicksford, Virginia, sent thirty dollars to the *Enquirer* "to be applied for the relief of that people, who were the first victims of oppression, and who have made such noble sacrifices in a cause so dear to our hearts."[27] One week later, seven prominent Richmond businessmen met at the offices of the *Richmond Whig* to determine the losses of Hampton's white residents and organize a relief effort. These men published "An Appeal on Behalf of the Hampton Refugees," which asserted that Magruder had burned the town out of "military necessity" and that the women and children who had lived there suffered the most, having lost not only all of their property in their abandonment of the city and then the fire but also their husbands, brothers, and fathers, who were serving in the Confederate army. They had proven their patriotism twice over, committee members believed, and it was only fair that their fellow Virginians contribute to their support. "We are engaged in a great struggle for our national independence," they reminded the state's citizens, and "sacrifices are demanded of us all; but those sacrifices should, as far as possible, be equalized."[28] Southerners – especially Virginians – perceived Hampton as embodying civilian selflessness during a time of war. Hampton's residents had abandoned their property, and then soldiers from the city had destroyed it all: Both were considered acts of Confederate patriotism. The fire would keep the town's buildings out of northern hands, and the smoking heaps of rubble would stand as a permanent monument to the defiance of Union authority. Or so southerners thought.

Northern officials, for their part, were befuddled by Magruder's act. Butler protested in his report to Scott that the "deserted village" of Hampton held no allure for him and that in fact he had not been planning to quarter his troops there during the winter of 1861–62. Instead, he had hoped that "we were to follow the track of our Northern birds southward with the approach of frost." In no part of his August 8 report did Butler address fugitive slaves' desperate need for shelter in the coming months or his alleged plan to use Hampton's buildings as contraband housing. Instead, he professed himself "so poor a soldier as not to be able to discern

the strategical importance of this movement."[29] This statement was disingenuous. Butler had already decided to weaken the economic base of Confederate planters by offering sanctuary (and possibly freedom) to their slaves. He exploited the burning of Hampton to paint a picture of Magruder as imprudent and acting without cause; the Union general also shaped a competing interpretation of the ruins of Hampton as evidence of "the spirit in which the war is to be carried out on their part" – proof that the Confederates were a barbarous people.[30]

Debates about and accusations of savage, unwarranted acts of violence stood at the center of a shared discourse of civilized warfare that dominated discussions of soldiers' conduct on both sides. Most Americans believed that in attacking or destroying urban centers, the Union and Confederate armies were attacking civilian noncombatants – women, children, and old men. Many historians have studied both soldiers' and civilians' acts of and responses to destruction somewhat later in the war. They have focused in particular on the Union Army's hard-war strategy, most famously put into practice by William Tecumseh Sherman's soldiers in large foraging raids in Georgia and South Carolina in 1864–65.[31] The burning of Hampton in August 1861, less than three weeks after Bull Run, the first major battle of the war, reveals that both northerners and southerners used hard-war tactics and did so from the beginning of the conflict. At this point, soldiers and civilians established many of the themes of the discourse of civilized warfare.

After meticulously detailing his actions the night of August 7, Butler used the majority of his report to condemn Magruder and the Confederates for leaving Hampton in ruins. Their actions constituted an attack on white citizens (however few) who were clearly noncombatants. What Virginians saw as self-sacrifice, Butler saw as "cruel indifference to the inhabitants" of Hampton, who received, he believed, only fifteen minutes to leave their houses before the conflagration began. The issue of notification and the amount of time allowed for civilians to withdraw from urban areas before the destruction began was significant. The laws of warfare already in place asserted that armies must notify inhabitants of a town or city of an impending siege or bombardment. As Union general Henry Halleck, America's foremost military and legal theoretician in the 1860s, outlined in *Elements of International Law and Laws of War*, notification

involved "an official communication" that presents the intention of the belligerent force to lay siege to or blockade a port or city, with that notification taking either the form of a letter to that city's leaders or an advertisement in a newspaper. However, the accepted laws of warfare did not specifically delineate a time frame or schedule that would be considered "fair warning"; this lack of specificity fueled much of the debate over notification issues in many of the war's ruined cities.[32]

Butler clearly believed fifteen minutes to be too little time – unfair warning – and therefore evidence of Magruder's savagery. Butler contrasted his generosity with this outrage, writing, "I have to-day brought over the old and infirm, who by that wanton act of destruction are now left houseless and homeless." Butler and most Americans saw making war against the "old and infirm" and burning roofs over the heads of women and children as outrageous. In this view, war was a series of battles fought between two armies, a situation that placed civilians outside of the boundaries of large-scale violence. And although Halleck argued that "the status of all the citizens and subjects of the hostile state, is that of legal hostility, and their character as public enemies continues so long as the war lasts," he made clear distinctions between those in arms and those who "are exempt from the direct operations of war. Feeble old men, women and children, and sick persons come under the general description of enemies . . . but, as they are enemies who make no resistance, we have no right to maltreat their person."[33] Hampton's few remaining white residents were clearly "exempt from the direct operations of war," according to Butler, and the burning of the city was an attack on them and therefore a brutal act of warfare.

Butler also framed the burning of Hampton as arbitrary: the Confederates did not distinguish between private and public property, torching "the church and the court-house, as well as the cottage of the widow."[34] According to Halleck, the status of noncombatant property was related to the status of its owners. "Although by the extreme right of war, all property of the enemy is deemed hostile and subject to seizure," he argued, "it by no means follows that all such property is subject to appropriation or condemnation."[35] The laws of nations distinguished between the public property of the state and the private property of individuals and between commercial buildings used to produce war materiel and domestic and

religious buildings. Destroying public works was an acceptable act of "military necessity," but the burning of private homes and of churches, in Butler's view, displayed the enemy's flagrant disregard of the accepted rules of civilized warfare. However, such laws always allowed room for interpretation, and with the publication of the Union's suitably malleable Lieber Code (General Orders No. 100) in 1863, the differences between public and private property were often treated as irrelevant. But in 1861, Magruder's dismissal of fair-warning expectations and his indiscriminate destruction of all forms of property in Hampton gave Butler the opportunity to depict the Confederates' actions as seriously out-of-bounds.

Furthermore, this act of ruination was unprovoked. Butler argued that "a more wanton and unnecessary act than the burning, as it seems to me, could not have been committed." His men had evacuated the town several weeks earlier and had made no move to retake it; he might have thrown some shells at the town when Magruder's forces appeared, "but I did not choose to allow an opportunity to fasten upon the Federal troops any portion in this heathenish outrage." The assertion that the destruction had been gratuitous became a staple argument within discourse of civilized warfare and reached its apogee in the debates surrounding the burning of Columbia. Such a point established the "incendiaries" as willfully and maliciously violent; it also undermined the Confederates' argument that they had been acting only to defend themselves against Yankee "invaders." Colonel J. W. Phelps of the First Vermont Infantry echoed this assertion, pointing out in his August 11 report that "the barbarous fierceness of spirit which they have exhibited in the destruction of Hampton . . . cannot fail to injure their cause." Phelps was sure that this kind of warfare, which Euro-Americans associated (wrongly) with Native Americans and other "heathens," must "inevitably meet with disapproval in all parts of the country."[36]

For Union commanders and many northern civilians, Hampton's ruins became evidence of what they saw as the typically rash and violent nature of Confederate soldiers and the victimization of southern civilians by their own protectors. Magruder had not given the citizens much advance warning, had indiscriminately destroyed private and public property, and had seemingly done so for no good reason. While southerners appropriated Hampton's ruins as proof of their patriotism and self-sacrifice, northerners

used the same ruins to prove that Confederates were acting in war as they did in politics, engaging in needless acts of self-destruction. The burning of Hampton, therefore, revealed the two sides at odds both militarily and ideologically. The act allowed northerners to articulate their perception of acceptable wartime tactics, which removed civilians from wartime activities. It also provided southerners with the opportunity to assert civilian self-sacrifice as part of their war effort.

The burning also gave Civil War soldiers and civilians something interesting to look at. The city aflame was, according to many observers, a sublime and captivating sight. To witness the transformation of a city from a cluster of government, commercial, and private buildings to a vast landscape of debris was an exciting visual experience for Americans in the 1860s.[37] And after the flames were extinguished, urban ruins were similarly captivating if melancholy sights. John B. Cary, the Confederate officer who had left Hampton before the burning and provided for its former white residents at Yorktown, returned to the ruined city in January 1862 to deliver some communiqués from Magruder to the Union officers at Fortress Monroe. The "ruined & burnt dwellings," he wrote sadly, "all spoke with eloquent tongue of the ravages of war."[38] The next spring, when Union troops began to mass at Hampton to prepare for the Peninsula campaign, Wisconsin surgeon Alfred Lewis Castleman was astonished at the sight of "this once beautiful, but now desolate little city. Never before had I a conception of the full import of that word – desolate," he wrote. Colonel Alexander Hays and his Pennsylvania regiment arrived at Fortress Monroe at the same time as Castleman's Fifth Wisconsin, and Hays noted that the town, "once the most beautiful watering place in Virginia, [is] now a mass of charred ruins and towering chimneys."[39]

Ruins often provoke this contemplation of shifting states of past and present.[40] Northrop's description of his ramble among the ruins of Charleston suggests that the sight of ruined cities in the United States was so astonishing because most American believed that such ruins belonged to Europe of the past, to the "ancients," not to "our own age and generation." Northrop saw the destruction of Charleston as resulting in a kind of temporal conflation that rendered the "new world" ancient. The rubble simultaneously suggests what is and what was, referencing the absence of the whole (past) in its pile of fragments (present). This perception

indicates that the Hampton ruins were a fundamentally different landscape – in time and in space – than the town of Hampton had been. As such, they invited viewers to consider the empty spaces they suddenly revealed and to reassemble the rubble in their minds.

Soldiers' imaginative engagement with Hampton's ruins took place at the same moment as their material appropriation and reconstruction of the site. As a primary staging ground for Union general George McClellan's massive assault on Richmond in the spring and summer of 1862, the ruins of Hampton became a Union encampment. During his January visit, Cary had noted that Union troops "are evidently preparing to reoccupy Hampton, as the sound of the hammer which could be heard from all quarters of the town clearly evinced."[41] An illustration in an April 1862 *Harper's Weekly* depicts this appropriation of Hampton's ruins. In *Federal Troops at Hampton, Va.*, chimneys rise up out of the ground, but there is no real sense of the city's former layout or infrastructure (see fig. 1.1). Instead, Union soldiers dominate this image; they unload transports, mill about, talk, and erect tents adjacent to jagged shards of masonry. Its debris mostly cleared, the town is no longer recognizable in the gridded streets or the walls that mark the absence of interiors. Missing here, along with a sense of the city and its "pastness" – and missing from all images of the ruins of Hampton created during the war – are African Americans.

By April 1862, the ruins of Hampton had indeed begun to disappear, their brick and stone fragments taken and used to build shelters for soldiers as well as for the fugitive slaves who flocked to the area in escalating numbers. This conversion of Hampton from a city built on the Atlantic slave trade to ruins appropriated by fugitives from slavery is one of the Civil War's many ironic moments. Magruder had burned the town of Hampton in August 1861 in part because he feared its use as a camp for runaway slaves. By the time that J. T. Trowbridge, a northern journalist, visited Hampton in the summer of 1865, he "found it a thrifty village, occupied chiefly by freedmen."[42] Magruder's fears had come to pass, but he, rather than Butler, had made it so; because Magruder burned the town, fugitive slaves and later freed people were able to use the rubble to create a landscape of black freedom on the Peninsula. These ruin-built huts were not the first structures to belong to African Americans in

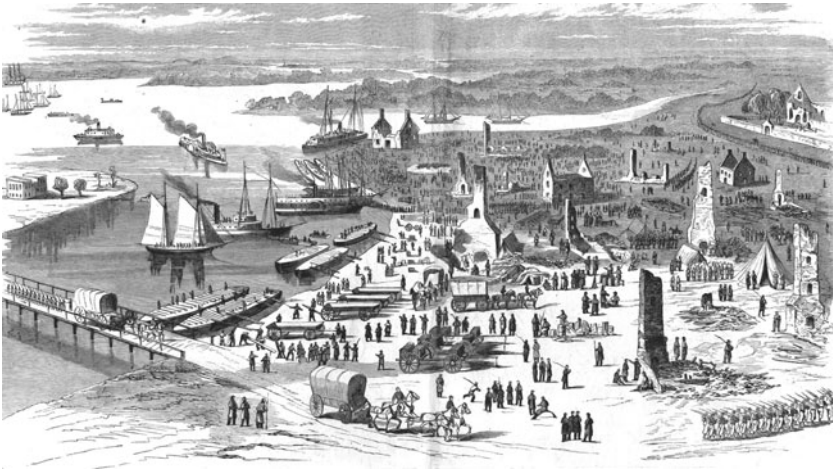

Figure 1.1. *Federal Troops at Hampton, Virginia*, sketched by an officer of the Topographical Engineers, *Harper's Weekly*, April 19, 1862, 245. Oversize Folder, United States Views Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

Hampton, however. When Magruder's men ran quietly through the night torching buildings, they destroyed the private and public property not only of white Hamptonians but also of the city's blacks. About 10 percent of the town's prewar black population owned property. Most had purchased farm lots outside of town from their white relatives; others, including James Bailey, who claimed a "lot and 'Brick House'" on Main Street in 1859, owned land and buildings in the urban center.[43] Furthermore, after the majority of Hampton's whites fled up the Peninsula after the arrival of Union troops at Fortress Monroe, their former slaves moved into many of the abandoned buildings in town, where they later were joined by fugitives from the countryside. By the time Magruder set fire to the town, it was already for all intents and purposes a contraband camp; the burning destroyed the buildings that runaway slaves had previously seized for themselves.[44]

The slaves who converged on Hampton and Fortress Monroe beginning in the summer of 1861 were "freedom's first opportunists."[45] Their initial act in the transition from slavery to freedom was to run away, severing their ties with their masters and undermining white patriarchal authority.[46] Their second act was to establish a life for themselves behind

Union lines. As slaves, many had previously created landscapes that provided them with some measure of freedom; in the slave cabins, forested hinterlands, and yards of Virginia's plantations and the slave quarters and alleyways of cities and towns such as Hampton, slaves could shape sites of privacy in which to nurture their families and communities.[47] The fugitives who arrived in Hampton before its destruction took the initiative and moved into abandoned homes and businesses; after its ruination, they used the rubble to construct new homes. They had already begun to build these structures when Union commander John Wool (who replaced Butler in September 1861) issued the first orders to formalize their care.[48] The army established a contraband camp among the ruins, encompassing much of the burned district; this area became home to almost one thousand fugitive slaves in 1861–62. Able-bodied men were put to work as officers' servants, wagon drivers, or laborers building Union fortifications across the Peninsula, while women earned four dollars a month cooking or doing laundry for the troops. The contraband population soon outgrew the original camp, however, and new arrivals established two other areas, Slabtown and Downey Farm across Hampton Creek from the ruined town and closer to Fortress Monroe.[49]

Former slaves scavenged building materials from the town's ruins with the help and encouragement of members of the American Missionary Association; Captain Charles B. Wilder, the assistant superintendent of freedmen, supported former slaves' efforts at "building huts for themselves, for separate livings." F. W. Bird, a northern abolitionist who visited what were called "government farms" in eastern Virginia, testified before the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission in 1863 that at Hampton, "the ruins of the houses of the First Families of Virginia are now covered with the cabins of their former Slaves." Many of the huts, he noted, were "built out of the same material as their masters houses."[50] The irony was not lost on anyone. As the supply of usable wood and stone debris began to dwindle in April 1862, Wilder employed freedmen to build a steam sawmill six miles from the contraband camp, with the new mill turning out "some five thousand feet of boards per day, which are furnished to the freedmen for their cabins."[51]

Union soldiers were intrigued by these developments. In November 1862, New Hampshire soldier William Channing Thomas marched with his regiment from Fortress Monroe over to "the once fine *old* city

of Hampton" and "much to my surprise" found it a "now deserted nigger plantation." He wandered through the contraband camp, picking up relics, talking to the "*real southern darkies*" and peering into their cabins. "They are of one story with one room which is kitchen dining room & parlor all in one," he wrote to his father. "Their modus operandi is to select a good chimney & then build with mud & blocks or old boards a shanty by its side & they have not a house with a chimney but a chimney with a house." Thomas scorned these structures, remarking to his father that "they build a house such as I should have been ashamed to have in the yard for a play house."[52]

The houses that fugitive slaves built for themselves may not have been much to look at, cobbled together as they were from stone and brick fragments, charred pieces of wood, scrap lumber, and mud, but for the first time for almost all of these former slaves, their labor and its products were their own. They built cabins that resembled the housing they had known in slavery; this reconstruction with materials provided by "the First Families of Virginia" was an act of appropriation and power. Out of the ruins of the "rebellious Hampton" Court House, fugitive slaves and American Missionary Association members built a two-room schoolhouse that by the summer of 1862 attracted two hundred students daily.[53] By December 1864, most traces of the white town of Hampton had disappeared; a Union photographer took a *View of the Town* that reveals a neighborhood of one- and two-story wood-frame houses, arrayed along streets and lots enclosed by wooden fences (see fig. 1.2). Even the streets had changed. As a mark of their freedom, the residents of the contraband camp renamed the major thoroughfares of the city to reflect their new status and their patriotic fervor: Union, Liberty, Lincoln, and (in 1864, after he arrived at Fortress Monroe to direct the spring campaign for Richmond) Grant.[54] The "city of chimnies" that Thomas described in 1862 no longer existed by the end of the war. Its ruined landscape had been replaced by what Trowbridge depicted as a village of "neatness and comfort," with "a sash-factory and blacksmith's shop, shoemaker's shops and stores" that "enlivened the streets." This was, Trowbridge determined, "by far the thriftiest portion of Virginia I have seen."[55] By 1866, former slaves had constructed homes, churches, and schools in the former city of Hampton and ran its businesses.

Figure 1.2. *Hampton, Va. View of the Town*, December 1864. Civil War Photographs Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

These alterations were neither easy nor undisputed, however. Despite the availability of building materials, there was always a housing shortage, and living conditions were no better than those on Virginia's plantations before the war. Bird reported that he found several hundred old men, women, and children crowded together in a tobacco-drying house outside of Hampton. A fire in the building, he warned, "would almost inevitably prove[,] particularly occurring in the night, very destructive to life." This dangerous situation had come about because "it is impossible to provide huts for them rapidly enough to prevent this crowding."[56] The Union government and its soldiers were far from racial egalitarians; many of their policies – like the "contraband tax" of five dollars per month to support those unable to work – meant that most freed people did not see any of their wages and were left in debt and often starving. Bored Union soldiers, awaiting deployment to fight on the Peninsula, sometimes amused themselves by pillaging and looting the cabins that former slaves had worked so hard to build in Hampton. In perhaps the cruelest of all of the ironies

in this town's Civil War history, the Emancipation Proclamation's stipulations about Union-occupied areas meant that the fugitives in Hampton, whose actions had provoked the initial contraband policy and started the Union on the road to emancipation, were not free.[57]

And at the end of the war, the city of Hampton underwent yet another transformation, one that created the ruins of black freedom and foreshadowed the failures of Reconstruction in the South. In 1866 many freed people occupied "the abandoned plantations of recent Rebels," but the city's former inhabitants were already making their way back, armed with pardons courtesy of the Johnson administration and "demanding the restoration of their estates." One former Confederate, "whose estate was worth sixteen dollars an acre, offered to rent it to the families living on it for eight dollars an acre," Trowbridge reported. But there was a catch: "The houses, which they had themselves built, should revert to him at the end of the year." One freedman, a blacksmith who had built his own house in addition to a shop and shed and was farming half an acre, was "doing very well until the owner of the soil appeared, with the President's pardon, and orders to have his property restored to him." The freedman refused to pay more than the land was worth in rent and told Trowbridge, "'I am going to leave,' . . . without uttering a complaint."[58] Even as the Freedmen's Bureau established a major field office in Hampton and the American Missionary Association remained active (purchasing 175 acres on the Hampton River across from the contraband camp and selling lots to forty-four families in 1867), former Confederates evicted many of the black residents who had built their homes out of the town's ruins. As a result, although Hampton's black population increased 200 percent in the years after the war, there was no revolution in black landownership in the city or the surrounding counties. The end of the war brought another form of ruination to the Peninsula: the destruction of government promises to protect the rights of freed people.[59]

The conversion of Hampton, Virginia, from a southern port town with a long history of slavery to a "heap of ruins" to a wartime contraband camp was indeed remarkable. It is also unusual in the Civil War's history of urban warfare – the entire city was destroyed by willing Confederates who were not under siege or in danger of being overrun. The burning of Hampton indicated that cities would be important military targets during the conflict and that their inhabitants might bear some responsibility for

their defense or abandonment. Its urban ruins provided the opportunity for both northerners and southerners to articulate a discourse of civilized warfare and for fugitive slaves to seize the property of their former owners for their own use. Hampton also foreshadowed what war would bring to the southern landscape in general. By 1864, the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* could not bear even to look at Virginia's ruined towns and farms. "For three years the burning of towns, the ravage and ruin of country have gone on," they wrote with rage, "and entirely by the armies of the United States."[60] This last point was insincere; as the ruination of Hampton reveals, both Union and Confederate soldiers had had a hand in destroying the southern landscape. However, most southern citizens ignored this fact, and as the war dragged on, they prayed for the chance to bring such destruction to a northern city, hoping that "Phila., N.Y. – or Boston – may pay for it."[61]

The Ruins of Revenge: Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

On the morning of July 31, 1864, lawyer and Cumberland Valley Railroad agent George B. Ayres visited the city of Chambersburg. As he walked through the Diamond, the center of town and its former business district, he was stunned, noting helplessly, "What language can express our own feelings or portray the scenes we witnessed there!" Chambersburg seemed abandoned but for the "strangers who had already flocked hither to gratify curiosity," and Ayres resorted to Irish poetry to convey his feelings. "We felt," he wrote, "'like one who treads alone / Some banquet hall deserted.'" The ruins of Chambersburg, the "monumented chimneys and staggering walls," seemed to Ayres to tell a "doleful story," one that he felt compelled to record in an article he titled "Complete Report of the Burning and Destruction of Chambersburg by the Rebel Invaders."[62] Ayres's account was one of several to appear in newspapers and pamphlets in the summer and fall of 1864 and again in the 1880s. It joined a growing collection of ruin narratives published during and after the Civil War, but it was unusual in two respects: It told the tale of the ruination of a northern city, and it shifted the angry accusations within the discourse of civilized warfare from those between Union and Confederate to those between northern civilians and northern military and government officials. Chambersburg's ruins indeed told a "doleful story," one that exemplifies the

debates about retaliation as a legitimate military strategy and the literary and political project of assigning responsibility for acts of violence in times of war.

At the time of its burning, Chambersburg was celebrating its centennial. Although European immigrants – most of them Irish, German, or Scots-Irish – had been living in the Cumberland Valley of the colony of Pennsylvania since the 1730s, the town's founder, Benjamin Chambers, did not lay out the settlement until July 1764. It grew slowly but steadily, helped by its location on the Braddock-Forbes military road, which connected Pittsburgh with points eastward, and its designation as the Franklin County seat in 1784. The town's population burgeoned after November 1837, when the Cumberland Valley Railroad opened its Chambersburg line, connecting Hagerstown, Maryland, with the Pennsylvania state capital at Harrisburg. The city's status as a travel and political center spurred the construction of hotels, taverns, and a courthouse, and entrepreneurial residents built factories producing hats, tools, paper, and iron. Chambersburg's large antebellum German community also supported the establishment of several breweries and distilleries. The streets of the Diamond were lined with two- and three-story brick and frame structures housing both businesses and apartments; the mansions of Chambersburg's business leaders stood on adjacent streets. By the summer of 1864, Chambersburg was a small city of six thousand people (depleted to about half that number by the deployment of soldiers) and about eight hundred buildings.[63]

That summer, with the Army of Northern Virginia pinned at Petersburg, Virginia, and Union general David Hunter attempting to occupy the Shenandoah Valley, Confederate general Robert E. Lee sent Jubal Early's corps to the valley to deal with Hunter and, Lee hoped, divert some of Grant's troops from their siege trenches to Washington, D.C., to combat the threat. Early's men moved quickly and surprised the soldiers garrisoned around the North's capital city before withdrawing to the valley, destroying railroads and bridges as they went. In late July, Early learned that in his absence, Hunter had returned to the Shenandoah and "his favorite mode of warfare," burning the homes of prominent Confederates, including the residences of the Union general's cousin, Virginia state senator Andrew Hunter; Congressman Alexander Boteler; and

Edmund J. Lee, a cousin of Robert E. Lee. Early "came to the conclusion that we had stood this mode of warfare long enough," and on July 26, he dispatched two brigades and a battery of artillery under John McCausland to the town of Chambersburg, just across the Maryland border in Pennsylvania. He instructed McCausland to "demand of the municipal authorities the sum of $100,000 in gold, or $500,000 in United States currency, as a compensation for the destruction of the houses named and their contents." This ransom demand, if successful, would provide much-needed currency to purchase supplies for Confederate troops, since Confederate money was by this time almost worthless. If the ransom was not paid, Early ordered McCausland "to lay the town in ashes, in retaliation for the burning of those houses and others in Virginia, as well as for the towns which had been burned in Southern States."[64]

McCausland and his men reached Chambersburg on July 30. After establishing a battery on a hillside outside of town, the Confederates threw a few shells that were meant, according to Virginia cavalryman J. Scott Moore, "to intimidate rather than harm." The Eighth Virginia Cavalry Regiment dismounted and began to pour through the streets and alleys, "converging at what was called the 'Diamond,' about the centre of the town," which was the "objective point." As the men gathered, McCausland and his adjutant general read Early's order aloud and asked that the city council assemble to discuss the ransom and collect the money. The town's citizens, Moore wrote, "seemed to think we were jesting and bluffing," and they asked for time to consider. There is some dispute about how much time they were given: Moore claims that they received one hour; McCausland's account gave the time as six hours; and several Chambersburg residents swore that they were allowed no time at all. As in Hampton, notification became a matter of controversy, suggesting that the matter of fair warning remained undefined.[65]

Chambersburg's leaders were not asking for time to gather funds: at the first rumor of Confederates in the area, the city's merchants and bankers had sent all of their merchandise and their money farther north. The city council members could not have paid the ransom if they had wanted to. Rather, Chambersburg's leaders were stalling in the hopes that Union forces would come to their aid. McCausland saw this tactic for what it was and immediately ordered a detail to set fire to the town at different

locations.[66] The flames spread quickly despite the relatively calm day, and "in one hour the business portion of the beautiful city was blackened, smoking ruins." Moore was impressed with the conflagration, describing it as "of surpassing grandeur and terror." The tall columns of black smoke "rose up to the very skies; around it were wrapped long streams of flames, writhing and twisting themselves into a thousand fantastic shapes." Many observers noted that the conflagration seemed to create its own kind of weather; "whirlwinds" of fire lifted clothing, wood, bricks, and furniture (and reportedly one unfortunate small child) into the air and hurled them across the city.[67]

Within two hours, the business district was destroyed, as were many of the houses of prominent citizens that lined the surrounding streets.[68] As the ashes cooled, a committee of Chambersburg residents whose property had escaped the flames was formed and was charged with creating a list of buildings burned. They ultimately determined that 559 buildings were destroyed: 278 residences and places of business, 98 barns and stables, and 173 outbuildings of various kinds.[69] As the Reverend B. Bausman noted sadly in the days after the fire, not only buildings were destroyed but also "portraits, books, and family keepsakes of fifty years' gathering." Lying in the rubble of his home was "every domestic memorial, which piety and affection have gathered for more than half a century." These were not mere objects, items purchased and displayed and disconnected from those who owned them. They were the "domestic and social ties" that bound the "members of communities and of families together."[70]

Unlike Hampton, burned by a spontaneous act of self-defense, Chambersburg was a ruin of revenge. It was chosen, targeted for destruction in a deliberate and focused act of military retaliation. Over the years, historians and citizens of Chambersburg made several arguments about why Early selected their town. Some noted that its many factories and storehouses probably attracted Confederates bent on destroying the Union war machine, while others mentioned that abolitionist firebrand John Brown had established a supply depot there in 1859.[71] Others thought that the decision was rooted in previous experience; after all, the Confederates had been in Chambersburg twice before. In October 1862, Confederate cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart, who even some northerners admitted was a "smart, energetic man," visited the town on one of his troops' famous

circumnavigations of the Union Army; they spent the night there, helped themselves to a cache of clothing meant for Union soldiers, and burned buildings belonging to the railroad and a storehouse containing war materiel.[72] Stuart returned to the area in 1863, this time accompanied by Lee. In late June, sixty thousand Confederate soldiers began to converge on Chambersburg, and Lee established his headquarters there.[73] During that summer's fighting, which culminated in the Battle of Gettysburg, Chambersburg escaped large-scale destruction, mostly as a consequence of Lee's General Orders No. 73, which reminded Confederates that "we make war only upon armed men" and that "no greater disgrace should befall an army, and through it our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the unarmed and defenseless and the wanton destruction of private property."[74] After such close calls in the first two years of the war, many citizens and some historians believed after the fact that Chambersburg was destined for destruction in July 1864.

If fate was really such a powerful force in Chambersburg's wartime experience, then it was geographic destiny. For as Confederate cavalryman Fielder C. Slingluff put it, Chambersburg became a target because it was "the nearest and most accessible place of importance for us to get to."[75] Chambersburg sits in the cradle of the Cumberland Valley, which extends from central Pennsylvania to Maryland; south of the Potomac, the Cumberland becomes the Shenandoah Valley, one of the war's major battlegrounds.[76] Confederates had control of the valley for the first three years of the conflict and used it as a corridor from which to threaten Washington, D.C., and launch invasions of the Union in 1862 and 1863. In 1864, Chambersburg was a small city "of importance" along a well-used and familiar transportation corridor in southern Franklin County, "the most exposed portion of the Pennsylvania border ever since the commencement of the war."[77] The Confederates chose Chambersburg because it was there.

The more controversial issue than the choice of Chambersburg was the motivation for the burning of the city. Southerners, despite their protestations against Union siege tactics, had never been averse to destroying cities—as long as they were the enemy's. Tennessee Confederate Annie Maney conveyed her confidence in her new nation and approved of its use of hard-war tactics. "I only pray God may be with us," she wrote in May 1861, "to give us strength to conquer them, to exterminate them,

to lay waste to every Northern city, town and village, to destroy them utterly."[78] Jefferson Davis echoed Maney's sentiments in an 1861 speech in Stevenson, Alabama, vowing that "we will carry war where it is easy to advance – where food for the sword and torch await our armies in the densely populated cities." Northern troops might burn southern crops, but "we can raise them as before, while they cannot rear the cities which took years of industry and millions of money to build."[79] The editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* similarly argued that visiting urban warfare upon northern towns of villages would result in more impressive and costly destruction than such a strategy would reap in the South. While southern towns and villages were scattered and sparsely populated, "the numerous towns and villages of the enemy and his thickly peopled country, will pay more heavily."[80]

Such bloody-mindedness, focused on the destruction of northern cities, was common throughout the South and increased as the war progressed. As the hills, valleys, and lowlands of the South were trampled, cut over, and burned out, southern civilians became increasingly insistent in their calls for an invasion of the North and retaliation in kind. Here again, the accepted laws of warfare provided very little guidance and a lot of wiggle room. As Halleck noted, retaliation – also referred to as reciprocity – was a rule "not unfrequently" adopted in wartime operations. "There certainly is equity and good sense in the rule of meting out to an enemy the same measure of justice which we receive from him," he argued, but "there is a limit to this rule of reciprocity." Halleck argued that no army should "exceed the limits which humanity has prescribed in the rights of belligerents."[81] The Union's Lieber Code built on Halleck's and other established theories regarding retaliation. It argued that although retaliation is "the sternest feature of war," the law of war "can no more wholly dispense with retaliation than can the law of nations, of which it is a branch." Retaliation was understood to be an official response to "barbarous outrages" on the part of the enemy. As a war measure, the code maintained, retaliation should not be an act of mere revenge – a hasty punishment that begets a cycle of such punishments – but a thoughtful and considered act of "protective retribution." That is, soldiers should engage in retaliation only if the act would prevent the enemy from engaging in future "barbarous outrages." Otherwise, retaliation could be considered unjust and excessive and would "remove the belligerents farther and farther from the

mitigating rules of regular war, and by rapid steps lead them nearer to the internecine wars of savages."[82]

Both Halleck's text and the Lieber Code reflect the complexity and contradictions of wartime codes of conduct as well as their flexibility. Through adept wordsmithery, any officer or soldier on either side of the conflict could justify destruction as necessary and just retribution for prior acts by the enemy or as a preemptive strike. Early very clearly saw the burning of Chambersburg as retaliation – not mere revenge – for General Hunter's actions in the Shenandoah Valley earlier in the summer. Not only had Hunter burned the houses of Andrew Hunter, Boteler, and Edmund J. Lee, but also "a number of towns in the South, as well as private country houses, had been burned by the Federal troops." Early considered these acts "outrages," a "favorite mode of warfare" on the part of Union generals in the valley that finally demanded retaliation. Confederate cavalry captain Harry Gilmor argued this point as well, stating that the citizens wandering the ruins of Chambersburg "had none to blame for it but General Hunter" and his "fiendish acts of Vandalism."[83] Early also pointed out that "the policy pursued by our army on former occasions" had been lenient and that he had restrained his officers and soldiers from taking revenge on previous trips northward; now, however, Hunter's acts were so excessive that they demanded a response in kind. Early regretted the necessity of this act, a local newspaper reported, but he believed "he was only doing his duty to those people who had suffered by General Hunter's orders."[84] As the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* put it, "The laws of civilized warfare have been adopted to alleviate these horrors and prevent man from relapsing into brutality. Yet this inevitable phase of the war has been forced upon us." The Confederate Army had not intended to "repeat upon the enemy the injuries he has inflicted upon us" but was forced to do so, "asserting our right to execute upon our enemies whatsoever they may prescribe as the rule of this war."[85] This argument was pivotal: to retaliate within the bounds of "laws of warfare," military leaders had to depict the actions of the enemy as especially egregious and unwarranted – the "fiendish acts of Vandals" – thus leading inevitably and justly to retribution.

The burning of Chambersburg was meant to "check the burning of private property in Virginia" by the Union Army and "open the eyes of the people of other towns at the North, to the necessity of urging upon

their government the adoption of a different policy."[86] To southerners, the Union Army's excessive acts could be attributed not only to the military leaders who shaped the hard-war policy and the soldiers who carried it out but also to the northern newspapers and their readers who either exulted in or ignored the destruction of southern towns. As the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, published in Washington, D.C., explained, northern apathy regarding the destruction of southern cities and towns was understandable if not excusable. "Partly from the remoteness of the scene of such wrong doing," they wrote, "and partly from a languid sense of indignation in all that concerns the misfortune of the enemy, there was no very vivid or universal feeling on the subject."[87]

By burning Chambersburg, Early hoped to shake up these apathetic citizens and to "open the eyes of the people of the North" to the enormity of hard-war policy. He saw an "example in the way of retaliation" as the only way to prevent future acts of barbarism by Union troops and northern civilians' support for such acts.[88] Newspaper editors both north and south believed that the ruins of Chambersburg would be an object lesson for all northerners. The editors of the *National Intelligencer* hoped that the heinousness of the northern hard-war policy "will be clearly perceived in the light of the burning homes of Chambersburg," while the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* crowed ecstatically, "We have lit in Chambersburg a blaze that will arrest the view of the Northern people, and illustrate the destruction of villages, homesteads, and towns in every Southern state."[89] By framing Chambersburg's ruins as a catalyst for future war policy, southerners and northerners who opposed hard-war tactics legitimated this act of retaliation. As J. Scott Moore confessed, "Of course we all regretted that it was necessary to burn this city to teach our enemies a lesson," but the act was clearly "a war measure."[90] The Confederate Army's retributive destruction of this northern city was a "military necessity" – a term used to justify many acts of war that might otherwise be considered unlawful or immoral.

Of course, many northerners – especially the inhabitants of Chambersburg – protested the burning and attempted to frame it as a violation of accepted laws of warfare. Most prominently, they argued that Early's destruction of an *entire* northern city as retribution for the destruction of a handful of southern homes – as outlined in his order to McCausland – was

itself an excessive act of violence. As one Chambersburg resident, the Reverend B. S. Schneck, argued in his account, *The Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania* (1864), this fatal flaw in Early's strategy was evident from the first moments of the confrontation. The prominent citizens of the town, gathered to hear the Confederate general's order and the demand for a $500,000 ransom, "remonstrated against the monstrosity of burning a whole town of six thousand inhabitants, in retaliation for the six or eight houses named."[91] Jacob Hoke, one of Chambersburg's "most worthy and enterprising merchants," who lost a two-story brick building and stable on Main Street, argued that anything beyond retaliation "to the same extent" for Hunter's burning of individual homes in the Shenandoah Valley would be considered "barbarous and unwarranted" and concluded that "the destruction of Chambersburg was unjustifiable, and must forever brand its perpetrators with ignominy and reproach."[92] Those northerners who looked to their own generals to confirm such arguments about the inequitable and unlawful act of Confederate retribution did so in vain. Halleck argued in 1864 that "in times of war, it might not be possible to punish the individual responsible for egregious acts"; in those cases, a larger body could be held responsible. In wartime, Halleck reasoned, "a city, an army, or an entire community, is sometimes punished for the illegal acts of its rulers or individual members."[93]

Southerners were scornful of northerners' protests after the burning of Chambersburg. "There is a great howl being raised over this 'vandalism' all over the North," Alabama colonel David Hundley wrote sarcastically, "and those howl loudest who have been the most outspoken advocates of the indiscriminate pillage and slaughter of the suffering inhabitants of our Southern States." While he wished that the Confederacy had not stooped to the level of the Yankees and burned the city, Hundley believed that this act of ruination was justifiable. It also had the benefit of revealing that "never was there before as arrant a nation of hypocrites and cowards as these North men."[94] Some northerners, however, pointed out that southerners were the hypocrites. As Hoke put it, "To avenge the alleged violation of these laws these marauding and pilfering plunderers came here to destroy our town."[95] Northern journalist Charles Coffin noted derisively that the ruins of Chambersburg are "evidence of the tender mercy of the Rebels," who had boasted so loudly of their restraint in war.[96]

Such retributive acts were inherently contradictory: they subverted their stated goal of preemptive violence and provoked additional acts of vengeance. Northern soldiers certainly used the destruction of Chambersburg to justify and sometimes fuel their actions against Confederate soldiers and civilians in the summer and fall of 1864. After the Confederates withdrew from the smoldering city and retreated across the Potomac, Union cavalry under General William Averell pursued them, catching up to them in Virginia's Moorefield Valley. Many northern accounts of this skirmish contend that the charging Union cavalrymen yelled, "Remember Chambersburg!" and "Surrender, you house-burning villains!" as they shot down scores of the enemy. Slingluff did not remember such a dramatic charge but instead recalled waking up to find "a couple of Averill's [*sic*] men, with cocked pistols at my head, one of whom said: 'Get up, you ——— Chambersburg burning ———!'"[97] Several of Union general Philip Sheridan's men believed their scorched-earth campaign in the Shenandoah Valley in the summer and fall of 1864 to be retribution in kind for Chambersburg. "It was a hard looking sight to see women and children turned out of doors at this season of the year," wrote Pennsylvania soldier Henry Kaiser, "but no worse than for those of chambersburg."[98] Soldiers even further afield considered their actions part of this cycle of vengeance. Union soldier Allen Campbell, who took part in the destruction of Atlanta's business district as Sherman's troops left it in November 1864, considered that "*Chambersburg* is dearly paid for."[99]

Not all northerners or citizens of Chambersburg harbored these angry feelings and desires for vengeance, however. Schneck asserted in his account that "during the whole course of my life, I have not witnessed such an absence of despondent feeling under great trials and sudden reverses of earthly fortune." In the weeks after the fire, the residents of Chambersburg focused not on calling for retribution but on cleaning up the rubble and salvaging what they could out of the ruins. "And in regard to the feeling of revenge, so natural to the human heart," Schneck wrote with satisfaction, "I have been gratifyingly disappointed." Even those who had lost heavily in the fire "have used their best efforts to dissuade our soldiers from carrying their threats into execution when an opportunity should offer." Part of this magnanimity resulted from the conviction that vengeance was a moral evil—as Robert E. Lee had argued, vengeance

was God's work, not man's. But citizens also believed that Union acts of retribution in the name of Chambersburg would only lead to the destruction of more northern towns and villages. According to Schneck, then, the burning of Chambersburg had its intended psychological effect. The flames leaping from the city's crumbling rooftops had "illuminated" the destructiveness of the hard-war policy and turned some northerners against it.[100]

Whether Schneck's idealistic vision of his fellow Chambersburg residents' moral uprightness was founded in fact is unclear. However, it is true that the chroniclers of the event spent very little time contemplating revenge, and not because they lacked a person on whom to focus their vengeful thoughts. Unlike Sherman and Wade Hampton after the destruction of Columbia, Early never once denied responsibility for the burning of Chambersburg. His order to McCausland and his notice to the citizens of Chambersburg were quite overt about the reasons for burning the town; in his public remarks at the time, he accepted responsibility in a "calm, firm manner," and in his *Memoirs* Early noted, "For this act, I alone, am responsible, as the officers engaged in it were simply executing my orders and had no discretion left them." He declared himself "perfectly satisfied with my conduct on this occasion, and see no reason to regret it."[101] While Chambersburg residents lavished attention on "barbaric" acts of pillaging and theft and denounced the fiendishness of Early's order, neither Early nor Confederate soldiers were the villains in northern narratives of the event. Instead, Chambersburg's ruins provoked a debate over responsibility that added a new, navel-gazing twist to the discourse of civilized warfare, focusing on northern military personnel and the citizens of Chambersburg themselves.

As Schneck acknowledged in his account, "I know how apt we are, especially when smarting under severe personal losses or grievances, to look around for some object upon which, or some person on whom, to lay the blame."[102] More than forty years after the conflagration, both northerners and southerners were still talking about it, and one issue seemed to bother everyone. While the residents of the Maryland-Pennsylvania borderlands had "for some time been without any military protection," Confederate J. Scott Moore wrote in disbelief, "at the time we were there General [Darius] Couch was encamped at Mercersburg, sixteen miles

distant, with a battery and a force of men, and General [William] Averill [*sic*] was encamped at Greencastle, ten miles distant, with 2,500 cavalry." So the question was, "Why did they permit us to burn Chambersburg?"[103] Ayres, Schneck, and Hoke, who collected their neighbors' stories of "the terrible catastrophe" and published them in articles and pamphlets, spent considerable time pondering this question, usually under the heading, "Who Is Responsible?"

Rather than assigning blame to Early, despite his overt willingness to accept it, the citizens of Chambersburg instead focused on the Union Army and the state of Pennsylvania. "The responsibility of this fearful and atrocious incursion," Ayres declared confidently, "rests undeniably with the military authorities."[104] More specifically, *Harper's Weekly* reported, "much blame has been thrown upon General Couch."[105] As head of the Department of the Susquehanna, Couch was responsible for the defense of Pennsylvania. He was, as Moore noted, stationed in Mercersburg, sixteen miles from Chambersburg; however, Couch had only between one hundred and two hundred men and one section of one battery (two guns) available to fight on July 30. The rest of his command had been sent to Washington, D.C., a few weeks previously to defend against Early's raid or had been transferred by request to Averell's command in Greencastle.[106] To many residents, this lack of manpower meant that Couch was not accountable for the burning. He could not have defended the town with such scanty numbers; to do so would have meant certain death or capture.

Averell and his cavalry, however, were even closer to Chambersburg, encamped only ten miles away. In a move that subsequently helped to clear his name, Couch sent four urgent telegraph messages to Averell, warning of McCausland's approach and requesting orders. The third, rather desperate, telegram read, "The enemy are just at the edge of town. Let me know what you intend doing."[107] Rumors abounded as to why Averell never responded to Couch's messages. According to Thomas Bard, a Maryland Unionist who was traveling with Union telegraph officers that night, the first two messages were never delivered because the orderlies could not locate Averell. After receiving the third message, Bard went off on his own to find the general. As Bard heard the first guns fire into Chambersburg just before dawn on July 30, he found Averell "asleep by the side of a fence" in an open field. Averell's response was less than heroic: "Without rising to put his troops in motion, or without the slightest

manifestation of interest in the condition of General Couch, or in the peril to which the loyal people of Chambersburg were exposed," Bard attested, Averell "merely said: 'Tell Couch I will be there in the morning.'"[108]

Many residents of the town concluded that if Averell had only gotten up from his nap and moved toward Chambersburg, the town would have been saved. But he did not. Later that morning, the general found himself and his twenty-five hundred men flanked by Confederate cavalry and chose to place his command "between the enemy and Baltimore" rather than come to Chambersburg's aid.[109] He and his men marched through the still-burning city at around three o'clock in the afternoon and then pursued McCausland's men to the Potomac. Although *Harper's Weekly* charitably concluded that "it is clearly impossible that [Couch] or any other General could protect Pennsylvania from being at some point infested," many Chambersburg and Franklin County residents, including Ayres and Hoke, argued that Averell's lack of action made him the "delinquent"—the "one who could and should have saved us."[110]

One of the reasons that the residents of Chambersburg were so focused on finding fault with their own generals—and the state of Pennsylvania, which they felt had left them defenseless on the wartime frontier—was that they were building a case for compensation. By 1864, the Union Army's quartermaster and commissary departments had already established a policy that "claims growing out of destruction of property from military necessity were disallowed as losses sustained by the fortunes of a war for the public defense, regardless of whether they arose in the North or in the South."[111] Even if they could not receive funds from the federal government, the residents of Chambersburg believed they had a good case to claim compensation from Pennsylvania given the state's responsibility for local defense. Chambersburg residents argued that the lack of soldiers in the area under Couch and Averell prevented any possible protection of the city. The committee that formed in the days after the fire to map the burned district, identify destroyed property, and assess values intended to use this information as evidence for claims. The committee established that real estate losses in Chambersburg amounted to $783,950; to this was added an estimate of personal property losses at $915,137.24.[112]

The state of Pennsylvania responded to the claim in February 1866, when the legislature passed an act appropriating $500,000 to compensate the property owners of Chambersburg on a pro rata basis. Over the next

five years, the state reviewed property assessments, and in May 1871, it appropriated another $300,000 in compensation. In the late 1880s, Hoke was still arguing that Pennsylvania should pay another $800,000 to the citizens of Chambersburg, as it "is the duty of the State to protect her citizens, and if she fail in that she should pay and make good any losses occasioned by her failure to protect them."[113]

But the citizens of Chambersburg were not in it just for the money. They also compiled accounts and assigned blame to the Union Army and the state of Pennsylvania to protect their personal reputations. Schneck noted on the first page of his *The Burning of Chambersburg* that his description of the "terrible calamity" was directed in part at "those who are ready, either from ignorance or something worse, to misrepresent the facts in the case." He was referring to journalists for the *New York Herald* and the *New York Tribune*, who had blamed not Couch or Averell or Early but Chambersburg's citizens themselves, depicting the burning as a result of unpatriotic, apathetic capitulation. Unlike the white citizens of Hampton, who were lauded for their sacrifice in the face of destruction, Chambersburg's residents were accused of cowardice. Such outrageous accusations turned formerly friendly neighbors into "our worst enemies," creating an internal war of words among the mid-Atlantic press.[114]

Much of the criticism from New York was rooted in the belief that a city the size of Chambersburg had enough residents to protect itself from McCausland's cavalry. In their accounts of the burning, the city's inhabitants set out to disprove this assumption. First they noted that as a consequence of their patriotic fervor, the citizens of Chambersburg had sent a good number of their family members to fight in Union regiments, leaving only about two thousand people, most of them women and older men, in the town at the time of its destruction.[115] Therefore, in July 1864, Chambersburg really had only a few hundred men capable of bearing arms. Given the fact that the Confederates had about three thousand men and several batteries trained on the city from the surrounding hills, Schneck and others wondered how such a small, outnumbered force could have been expected to protect the town.[116] In addition, the citizens of Chambersburg had no uniforms. Calling on their knowledge of the laws of warfare, the residents argued that fighting without uniforms would provoke the Confederates to kill them on the spot as guerrillas. The big-city papers also

criticized residents' refusal to pay the ransom: Chambersburg had several large banks with enough gold and greenbacks to make the payment. In their defense, the residents argued that the banks had removed the money at the first sign that Confederates were on the way, and in any case, "it was understood that the patriotic citizens had determined not to contribute one farthing to the maintainance of the accursed rebellion."[117] Chambersburg's citizens thus framed their refusal to pay as a strategy to undermine the economic health of the Confederacy – a patriotic act.

For Chambersburg residents, proving their patriotism became paramount in the days after the conflagration. The flood of letters, articles, and pamphlets that appeared in the wake of the city's ruination were part of a second wave of indignities they suffered in the summer of 1864. First they saw the center of their city with its most important economic and political structures eaten out by the fire of vengeful Confederate "incendiaries." Then they endured an assault from their own neighbors, an attack that questioned their decisions in a time of crisis and sparked debate about the significance of cities – and their ruination – in wartime. Visiting Chambersburg after the fire, southern Unionist Thomas Wilson was convinced that the town's critics would modify their verdicts "and it may be, retract their insinuations" if they could see the "quiet burgh," which was "tenfold more eloquent itself in the abomination of desolation which reigns around."[118] Wilson believed that Chambersburg's ruins would speak for themselves, representing the sacrifices that its residents had made for the Union. And ruins of this northern city – the only substantial northern urban ruins created during the Civil War – did speak, but of controversy and of the complexity of laws of civilized warfare.

The destruction of the city sparked debates about the legitimacy of retaliation as a war strategy and the important role of assigning responsibility – either to the enemy or to a government that neglects to protect its own – as a way to deal with wartime violence. J. T. Trowbridge, who toured Chambersburg before heading to Hampton in 1866, was initially shocked to see the "skeletons of houses burned by the Rebels," the "empty eye-sockets" of their windows staring at him and "their fanged and jagged jaws" yawning. But he quickly got over his aversion to the ruins and saw in them instead a sign of future strength. "There is no loss without gain," he wrote. "Chambersburg will in the end be greatly benefited by

the fire," and so "let it be with our country; fearful as our loss has been, we shall build better anew."[119] While the ashes of Chambersburg signaled to Trowbridge a nation on the rise, the rubble of Columbia, South Carolina, spoke of a different kind of future for the former state capital, gaining strength not from healing but from continued, heated debate.

Who Is Responsible?: Columbia, South Carolina

Trowbridge was not the only American to look on the war's ruined cities and to see a phoenix rising. On March 21, 1865, the first issue of a triweekly newspaper, the *Columbia Phoenix*, was published in Columbia, South Carolina. In haphazard type and across sheets of coarse paper, the editor, famed southern novelist William Gilmore Simms, printed a mission statement: he hoped that "the advent of the Columbia *Phoenix* will prove an augury favorable to the resuscitation of our brave old city from her ashes."[120] The paper also printed Simms's account of the conflagration, "The Capture, Sack, and Destruction of the City of Columbia."[121] And so the economic and political recovery of the city would go hand-in-hand with narratives of its destruction. The two were acts of reconstruction in both of its senses: remaking and retelling.[122] Like Chambersburg, Columbia's ruins were described and disputed in print – first in letters and then in newspapers and published pamphlets. These ruin narratives helped Columbia's residents deal psychically with the destruction of the city and "recover a sense of mastery over their natural and social surroundings."[123] These accounts also provided a forum for long-running debates about the relationship between violence and American masculinity and the ethics of taking or assigning responsibility for wartime destruction.

The city of Columbia had its origins in civil conflict. In 1786, the wealthy planters of the South Carolina low country vied for control of the state legislature with upcountry piedmont farmers. As a compromise, politicians chose a capital city site equidistant between these two fractious groups, founding Columbia in the midlands, atop a high ridge of sand hills overlooking the convergence of the Saluda and Broad Rivers as they create the Congaree. The city was laid out on a two-mile grid with ten streets to the mile. The city's bureaucratic orientation was immediately evident in its urban design: the two central thoroughfares, Assembly and

Senate, met at the capitol grounds and divided the city into four equal sections. As a fire-prevention measure, the streets were at least one hundred feet wide. To create a sense of monumentality, they were lined with magnolia, oak, and mimosa trees. Multistory brick buildings devoted to the cotton trade and to municipal services – as well as boardinghouses, taverns, and hotels to serve the needs of visiting politicians – were quickly constructed along Main Street, one block east of Assembly. Many of Columbia's residents, both rich and poor, black and white, lived within this two-mile grid, their homes scattered among the structures of the business district.[124] In 1790, Richland County (including Columbia) had roughly four thousand residents, with the population nearly doubling over the next ten years.[125] By 1860, South Carolina's capital city had more than eight thousand full-time residents, almost half of them slaves, and was experiencing a growth rate five times higher than the state as a whole.[126]

The Civil War prompted even more spectacular demographic and economic growth. As an upcountry city in the Deep South, Columbia was considered a place of refuge during the war. South Carolinians sent their money, furniture, and other valuables to the city's warehouses and banks for protection from the invading armies of the North. Within weeks of Fort Sumter, "immense deposits of silver plate, jewelry, valuable papers, title deeds, etc." flooded into the city. Many South Carolinians also sent more precious cargo. As Simms noted, "Young women of family were sent in large numbers to the city, where numbers seemed to promise a degree of security not to be hoped for in any obscure rural abode."[127] In addition, Confederate politicians forwarded government documents and specie to Columbia, establishing a treasury bureau to print Confederate notes and bonds and building factories to manufacture medical supplies, including prodigious amounts of medicinal alcohol. By 1865, the city's population had burgeoned to twenty-four thousand. Some of these newcomers worked in other factories that were appropriated for war production and provided gunpowder, swords, rifles, and bayonets for Confederate soldiers. The Palmetto Iron Works, located in West Columbia at the corner of Lincoln and Laurel Streets, manufactured cannon, solid shot, explosive shells, and minié balls, with finished products stored in the city itself – at the state arsenal on Upper Laurel, a Confederate storehouse near the Congaree River, and the South Carolina Railroad Depot.[128]

Although one Union soldier later claimed that "Columbia was of no importance to us; it was only a halting place for the night," the South Carolina capital was clearly a military target. It was also a politically symbolic one.[129] On December 17, 1860, the delegates to South Carolina's secession convention met in Columbia and passed a resolution in favor of separation from the United States. Although they did not sign the proclamation announcing their state's independence until three days later in Charleston (after rumors of a smallpox outbreak prompted the delegates to evacuate), many northerners considered Columbia the cradle of secession. Most Union soldiers serving in Sherman's army never doubted that they would end up in Columbia or that they would have a chance to punish it for its role in South Carolina's act of treason; many dreamed of doing so.[130] Columbia's residents faced this eventuality with fear and trepidation. Teenager Emma LeConte, whose father and uncle were involved in the production of medical supplies for the Confederate government in the city, began obsessing about the arrival of Union troops after the fall of Savannah. "I am constantly thinking of the time when Columbia will be given up to the enemy," she wrote worriedly in her diary, "the horrible picture is constantly before my mind." By February 5, her dread had become a "natural" feeling. "We are prepared for the worst and dare not look even into the immediate future," she confessed. "I cannot even attempt to picture to myself what may happen in the next six weeks, or what may be the fate of our dear, beautiful, old Columbia."[131]

Despite some residents' overwhelming fears, according to Simms, "there was no small portion of the inhabitants who denied or doubted, almost to the last moment, that Sherman contemplated any serious demonstration upon the city." Many residents were so blasé about the threat to Columbia that in mid-January 1865, local leaders could not recruit enough laborers (free or enslaved) to build fortifications to defend it from attack.[132] Residents continued to muse about the possibilities and indulge in rumor and innuendo until the day they saw the telltale signs of an army's approach – massive plumes of dust in the air and ominous, billowing spirals of smoke in the distance. A few thousand soldiers under the command of Lieutenant General Wade Hampton, a Columbia resident, began to evacuate almost immediately; when Sherman and his soldiers arrived on the banks of the Congaree across from Columbia on February 16, they

faced a city defended by only a handful of cannon and a populace vacillating between terror and disbelief. What happened next became a climactic tale within the Lost Cause narrative and a matter of dispute, rooted in nineteenth-century codes of masculine honor, for the next fifty years.

As Sherman neared Columbia with the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps, an exodus from the city began. Fleeing residents jammed the roads toward Winnsboro and Alston and crowded the city's two railway stations, trying desperately to climb aboard the last departing trains. Confederate cavalrymen under Major General Joseph "Fighting Joe" Wheeler began looting stores in the commercial district on their way out of town, provoking a frenzy of pillaging.[133] By February 15, as Sherman's soldiers began to mass along the riverbanks, "we could see people running about the streets of Columbia," and abandoned wagons, broken furniture, and half-empty bags of grain littered the thoroughfares.[134] Smoke drifted through the air, produced by fires that consumed several bridges as well as bales of cotton stacked on Blanding Street near Finlay Park and at the South Carolina Railroad Depot. Hampton, in charge of the city's defenses, had previously ordered soldiers to pile the cotton in the streets to block access to the city. This strategy created even more gridlock and impeded the civilian and military evacuations. Hampton could not have known it at the time, but those cotton bales would become the bane of his existence in the months and years that followed.[135]

Artillerists traded shots across the river: On the night of February 15, the Confederates fired at Union camps; the following day, the Federals lobbed shells at departing Confederate cavalry, the new state house (under construction since the beginning of the war), and the railroad depot "to scatter the people who were seen carrying away sacks of corn and meal that we needed."[136] Before sunrise on February 17, Columbia residents and Union soldiers were awakened by the thunderous sound of the South Carolina Railroad Depot exploding. Civilian looters had accidentally ignited gunpowder stored among its rafters, and as Simms put it, "the plunderers paid, and suddenly, the penalties of their crime." One month later, the body parts of the thirty looters who perished in the blast still remained "scattered about" the ruins of the depot, rotting in the springtime sun.[137] Confederate general P. G. T. Beauregard had informed Columbia mayor T. J. Goodwyn that troops would be withdrawing from the city; Hampton

told Goodwyn to refrain from raising the white flag until the military evacuation was complete. As the last of Hampton's cavalry set out along the Winnsboro Road, Goodwyn and three of the city's aldermen rode out in a carriage and surrendered the city to Colonel George A. Stone of the Twenty-Fifth Iowa Infantry, who had crossed the Broad River with his men and entered Columbia an hour earlier.[138]

At the moment of surrender, around ten o'clock in the morning, Goodwyn presented Stone with a letter requesting for the citizens of Columbia "the treatment accorded by usages of civilized warfare . . . a sufficient guard in advance of the army to maintain order in the city and protect the persons and property of the citizens."[139] Sherman received this missive but made no reply. Instead, he let his Special Field Order No. 26 stand. It called for Union troops to cross the Saluda and Broad Rivers and to "occupy Columbia, destroy the public buildings, railroad property, manufacturing and machine shops" but ordered them to "spare libraries and asylums and private dwellings."[140] Mayor Goodwyn met with Sherman personally when he entered the city, receiving assurances that he and his men "did not intend to stay long, and had no purpose to injure the private citizens or private property."[141] Once Union soldiers crossed the pontoon boats and flooded into the city, however, chaos ensued. Iowa soldier Charles Ward noted that "every man was soon to him self and whiskey and tobacco was the order of the Day."[142] Fires broke out in every neighborhood – in the brothels along Gervais Street, the cotton warehouses along Main, and the luxurious enclaves of politicians and slave owners on the east side. Soldiers knocked down doors and entered businesses and houses throughout Columbia, stealing what they could before throwing turpentine-soaked rags and torches into basements and bedrooms.[143] The old state house, a wooden structure that housed legislative chambers and state offices and had been the site of South Carolina's secession debates since the early nineteenth century, was, as one Iowa soldier later put it, "the objective point."[144] It was soon in flames, the fire burning so hot that it scorched nearby wooden sheds full of "fine carving, capitals, columns, ornamental work, etc." meant for the new state capitol building under construction next door.[145] A strong wind kicked up and began blowing sparks and burning debris – skeins of cotton, roof shingles, personal papers – across the wide streets that had been created to prevent

this kind of conflagration. "Imagine night turned into noonday," Emma LeConte wrote feverishly in her journal the next day, "only with a blazing, scorching glare that was horrible – a copper colored sky across which swept columns of black rolling smoke glittering with sparks and flying embers, while all around us were falling thickly showers of burning flakes." Frank Whilden, who ran from his burning home with his mother and his siblings, remembered that "sparks were dropping all over us, and we had to be frequently sprinkling ourselves with water just to keep from catching fire."[146]

Union officers attempted to control the situation by replacing drunken soldiers with sober brigades to help guard the city, arresting close to four hundred men, and helping to fight the massive fire roaring down Main Street. But as Charles Ward noted on February 18, "the 3 Brig is Doing as Drunken Duty in town to Day as ours Did yesterday. The 2nd Brig relieved them but Done no better." And as Sherman later reported, the strong wind meant that the fires started in multiple parts of the city spread "and got beyond the control of the brigade on duty within the city. . . . It was found impossible to check the flames, which, by midnight, had become unmanageable."[147] The conflagration raged until the early morning hours of February 18 and destroyed or damaged buildings on 84 of Columbia's 124 blocks. Of the 458 structures burned to the ground, 265 were residences and 193 were commercial or government buildings; Main Street alone lost 101 stores.[148]

"The morning sun of February 18th," Sherman wrote in his *Memoirs*, "rose bright and clear over a ruined city. About half of it was in ashes and in smouldering heaps. Many of the people were houseless, and gathered in groups in the suburbs, or in the open parks and spaces, around their scanty piles of furniture."[149] Columbia's residents wandered among the ruins, scavenging what they could from the wreckage. Frank Whilden's mother, Mary, "picked up a bar of metal, resembling silver. Soon we espied another and another, until perhaps we collected a dozen."[150] Local officials began to troll the streets, gathering up clothes, blankets, and dry goods in wearable or usable condition and piling them up at an engine house near Finlay Park. After Sherman's troops left the city on February 20, Sallie Rhett, the aunt of Columbia resident and diarist Grace Elmore, went to the park, where crowds had gathered to claim their goods.

Rhett reported to her niece that "it was very funny to see at first how ashamed the ladies were when a chemise or pair of drawers which they recognized, was held up to view, but soon necessity outweighed their modesty, and as often the name was read out, if they did not say 'mine,' the article was claimed."[151]

As they gathered their scattered belongings and came together in public spaces and private homes left standing, and as they wrote letters to family members and friends detailing the destruction of the city, Columbia's residents crafted their ruin narratives. They emphasized not only the violence of the destruction but also the ways that the burning of the city undermined American masculinity and honor. LeConte's account not only includes long descriptive passages of the molten sky and blazing buildings but also focuses on the language of Union soldiers in the streets. "By the red glare we could watch the wretches walking," she wrote, "generally staggering – back and forth from the camp to the town – shouting – hurrahing – cursing South Carolina – swearing – blaspheming – singing ribald songs and using such obscene language that we were forced to go indoors."[152] Through her use of dashes to list these untoward acts, LeConte equates the soldiers' "blaspheming" with their drunkenness; both acts convinced her that Union soldiers were no longer men but "wretches." LeConte and her female relatives sought protection from such shocking behavior in their homes, which they believed provided them with a feminine refuge respected by even the most unmanly of men. But other Columbia citizens discovered that they could not escape the depredations of Union soldiers, within or without their homes. Mary Harper wrote to her sister, Rosa Reeves, a week after the fire that after Harper's house began to burn, she had fled to "Mr. T's house which was on the next square." She was not there for long, however, as "a half dozen Yankees came in there, cursed and ordered me out of the house. You can imagine my terror."[153] The combination of these two acts of impropriety – the entrance into one's home without invitation or permission and the use of profanity and curses – contravened every social code in which southern women believed.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the use of obscenity in public and most private spaces was verboten; such words appeared only in private papers or publications and were used to mark the speaker as someone of bad

character. But in this as in other ways, the war changed things. Union soldier, journalist, and novelist John William De Forest was surprised to find himself shouting a string of oaths at his men during an infantry charge in Louisiana in 1862. "I was not a profane man," he wrote. "I never swore at one of my company before that day." But in the "rage of the charge, in the red presence of slaughter, it seemed as if every possible extremity of mere language was excusable, provided it would aid in gaining victory." For both himself and his men, "the swearing mania was irrepressible; nothing but oaths could express our feelings."[154] For De Forest, swearing in the midst of battle, in the "red presence of slaughter," was an involuntary, natural reaction. But the burning of Columbia was no battle. Union soldiers may have been drunk or frenzied at the sight of such large-scale destruction; however, their use of profanity in this context, especially in domestic spaces, was an act of violence that demonstrated their power over the city's civilians.

Other Union soldiers used mockery to establish their dominance in the fallen city. One soldier asked a Columbia merchant watching his store burn to the ground, "Say, did you and your folks think of this when you hurrahed for secession before the war? How do you like it, hey?"[155] Both profanity and political epithets have been linked with moments of nationalistic intensity and imperialism; it may be that Union soldiers, ecstatic at the knowledge that the "cradle of secession" had been surrendered and destroyed, insulted southerners as a form of patriotism.[156] Others may have just enjoyed the sense of mastery that mockery gave them and made both the citizens and the ruins of Columbia the objects of their sneers. One officer asked a group of women huddled in the streets, "Ladies, it is a cold night. Why don't you go into your burning town and warm yourselves?," while another queried, "Why do you build your chimneys before you build your houses?"[157] The fact that many of these insults took the form of questions suggests that the Union soldiers who uttered them may have wanted to provoke reactions from Columbia's civilians, a movement from one-sided insult to a heated argument between two people. That Union soldiers would seek out such a war of words suggests that verbal aggression was in fact an important component of their hard-war strategy, a battle between soldiers and civilians meant to undermine southern morale through mockery.[158]

Southern civilians found the profanity and insults directed at Columbia residents on that fiery night humiliating and infuriating. Such actions seemed to breach all notions of public and private decorum as well as the unspoken but presumably agreed-upon laws of civilized warfare. As LeConte wrote indignantly, "It is so easy to burn the homes over the heads of women and children, and turn them with insults and sneers into the streets."[159] These soldiers were not real men, LeConte seems to suggest, but cowards who engaged in "easy" – and therefore, uncivilized – acts of warfare. Columbia's residents responded to the taunts and mockery in various ways. Some chose silence, staring with pursed lips and raging eyes at Union soldiers who swore while they plundered.[160] Simms lauded this kind of response. "Almost universally, the women of Columbia behaved themselves nobly under [northern troops'] insults," he wrote approvingly; the women "rarely replied . . . but looking coldly into the faces of the assailants, heard them in silence and with unblenching cheeks."[161]

However, some Columbia women responded to the material destruction around them and to direct verbal taunts with biting, stern language that sometimes shamed Union soldiers.[162] When a Union officer asked one woman why she did not look frightened with houses falling into rubble all around her, she angrily replied, "Because I do not feel so."[163] Sophie Sosnowski, a Polish immigrant and teacher at the Female Collegiate Academy in Barhamville, on the outskirts of Columbia, went to see Sherman at his headquarters on February 18, expressing her "surprise, even more my indignation, at the cause the Army had pursued towards a conquered, unresisting, and surrendering City."[164] Several other Columbia women also wrote proudly of their verbal defiance of Union soldiers and their snappy retorts to insults. Such retorts were risky business: outbursts from genteel women were also considered improper in mid-nineteenth-century America. Columbia's women, however, saw their use of harsh language as a way to defend their homes and loved ones; these face-to-face confrontations during the fire and in the days thereafter "allowed these women to share in a sense of responsibility for actively defending the Confederacy" and their property.[165]

After Sherman's troops left Columbia, its residents turned to their own writing, much in the same way as did the inhabitants of Chambersburg – to make sense of their loss and to regain a sense of control over their lives.

By reporting northern soldiers' profanity, mockery, and personal insults, Columbia's residents depicted the invaders as ungentlemanly enemies of propriety. These details were part of collective narratives of loss and survival exchanged on the streets and in parlors and retold in letters and newspaper reports. The exchange of accounts was so frenetic that it could often be bewildering. "Every body we see gives us their experience of the Yankee," Grace Elmore confessed three weeks after the fire; "I get confused over the accounts, they are so many and so much alike."[166] These stories were both individual and general; they included personal details as well as larger themes that shaped the ongoing dispute about the city's ruination.

Most historians who have investigated this quarrel have focused on discovering the "truth" of the fire's origins, but the dispute itself suggests that the act of taking responsibility was integral to the waging of war and understanding its consequences.[167] The disagreement about culpability began just ten days after the fire, and it began in writing. In a letter to Sherman regarding foraging Union soldiers, Wade Hampton struck a belligerent tone. "You are particular in defining and claiming 'war rights,'" he wrote sarcastically. "May I ask if you enumerate among those the right to fire upon a defenseless city without notice; to burn that city to the ground after it had been surrendered by the inhabitants who claimed, though in vain, that protection which is always accorded in civilized warfare to non-combatants?" He then repeated this list of charges more directly, aggressively stating, "You have permitted, if you have not ordered, the commission of these offenses against humanity and the rules of war."[168] In Hampton's epistolary confrontation, he uses a direct form of address – "you" – to charge Sherman with the deliberate destruction of Columbia. This initial exchange of letters provided Hampton with "a few small but precious moments of vindication" in the wake of his disastrous attempts to defend his hometown from bombardment and destruction.[169]

Sherman declined to respond directly to Hampton's charges, instead addressing the issue of responsibility for the burning in an April 1865 report on the South Carolina campaign. Sherman asserted that Hampton, "who commanded the rear guard of cavalry, had, in anticipation of our capture of Columbia, ordered that all cotton, public and private, should be moved into the streets, and fired to prevent our use of it." The report

included two more references to Hampton's culpability, ultimately and "without hesitation" charging that the Confederate general "burned his own city of Columbia, not with a malicious intent, or as the manifestation of a silly 'Roman stoicism,' but from folly and want of sense, in filling it with lint, cotton, and tinder."[170] Sherman had no proof that Hampton ordered the firing of the cotton lying in the middle of Columbia's wide streets, but it was true that an order had been given. P. G. T. Beauregard, who was in charge of the defense of the state of South Carolina, did so several days before Sherman arrived. Hampton, in fact, had asked Beauregard to rescind this order on February 16, and he had agreed, but he did so too late to publish the order in the newspapers. Hampton's and Wheeler's soldiers likely were unaware of this new decree.[171] Sherman did not bother to confirm his accusation, however, and rested his allegation on the belief that defensive conflagrations were a common Confederate military tactic, as he had personally seen in Atlanta. Whatever his proof, Sherman's motivations for making this charge were clear. First, he hoped to deflect the accusations against him that were already being published widely in the South. Second, he desired to continue the hard-war tactics of verbal aggression that his soldiers had demonstrated on the streets of Columbia as it burned.

To accuse Hampton, a wealthy, white, southern gentleman, of something he did not do – and to attribute it to "folly and want of sense" – was an insult to his masculinity, which was rooted in personal honor and cultural chivalry. Most white southerners would have considered this affront legitimate cause for a duel. The vociferous arguments between Hampton and Sherman that subsequently erupted in fact became a kind of long-term verbal duel, "a ritual that embodied many values at the core of antebellum Southern white male culture." In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, duels often originated in insulting words or actions and then followed a customary pattern: letters were exchanged outlining each party's injuries, a third party intervened to attempt a reconciliation, and a public display of antagonism ultimately settled the matter.[172]

The first stage of the duel between Hampton and Sherman was completed through the exchange of military correspondence from February to April 1865, and the second got under way as Columbia residents and other southerners began to enter the fray, sharing their ruin narratives in

a variety of publications. The first civilian to begin compiling evidence – all of it purported to be "eyewitness" but much of it circumstantial – was William Gilmore Simms. He talked with other residents about their experiences on February 16 and 17 and published his account in the *Columbia Phoenix* between March 21 and April 10 (and as a pamphlet several months later). In all of these accounts, Simms laid the blame firmly at the feet of Sherman and his soldiers.[173] Northern newspapers and publishing houses got into the game over the next few years, printing soldiers' and journalists' reports of Sherman's march and the subsequent ruination of Columbia. Using these accounts and comparing them to the narratives of Columbia's civilians, Daniel Trezevant, a seventy-year-old doctor who lost both his office and his dwelling in the fire, published *The Burning of Columbia, S.C.: A Review of Northern Assertions and Southern Facts* (1866).[174] The title itself was an accusation, suggesting that northerners defended themselves with mere "assertions" while southerners conveyed the truth through "facts." The introduction to the first volume, written by F. G. DeFontaine, editor of the *Daily South Carolinian*, makes Trezevant's conclusions clear: "Much discussion has been evoked on the question as to who is responsible for the burning of Columbia, and the outrages connected with that event. In South Carolina, the author of the crime is known to be Gen. William T. Sherman."[175] Writers of fiction and poetry also lent their voices to the dispute. Georgia poet Elizabeth Dannelly published a seventeen-page poem, *Destruction of the City of Columbia, South Carolina*, in which she depicts Sherman as "the ruling spirit of the wreck" whose soul was possessed by the devil.[176]

The duel quickly moved to the next phase of public settlement, as committees were formed and affidavits taken from Columbia residents in two separate inquiries. The attendees at an April 1867 public meeting appointed a committee that included Trezevant and Professor John LeConte (Emma LeConte's father) and was charged with collecting evidence of the city's ruination. After taking more than fifty depositions between 1868 and 1870, the committee concluded, "The devastation and ruin thus inflicted were but the execution of the policy and plan of General Sherman for the subjugation of the Confederate States."[177] In 1871, in response to claims filed by British citizens for private property destroyed during the Civil War, the federal government and Great Britain created

the Mixed Commission on British and American Claims. Its three members – an American, a Briton, and an Italian – heard testimony from both northerners and southerners, civilians and military personnel, who were cross-examined by attorneys representing the claimants. The depositions, which took place over the course of two years, produced six volumes of testimony that were intended to be the public resolution of the matter.

However, because the commission determined that the city's destruction was "not to be ascribed to either the intention or the default of either the Federal or confederate officers," most of those involved concluded that the commission had, in fact, settled nothing.[178] Columbia residents quickly published a rebuttal in 1873, using the affidavits produced in the Mixed Commission investigation and Sherman's 1871 deposition to lay the blame once again at the Union general's feet.[179] The dispute dragged on. Despite his busy postwar political career, Wade Hampton was still writing letters defending his actions. He summed up the nature of the conflict in his epistolary contribution to the 1873 pamphlet: "In order to establish these points beyond all question, it will be necessary to discuss this matter at some length, and to submit a large mass of documentary evidence."[180]

The lack of a legal or political resolution to the dispute over Columbia's ruination meant that accounts of the event continued to proliferate. It also convinced many of those involved that *someone* had to be lying. Many Columbia residents devoted themselves to exposing Sherman's falsehoods, sure that such accusations would tarnish his reputation and prove him to be a truly uncivilized, unmasculine man – just like his profane soldiers.[181] In their memoirs, newspaper accounts, letters, and fictional representations of the conflagration, these writers focused on Sherman's "promise" to Mayor Goodwyn to respect the laws of civilized warfare and to refrain from destroying private property. Dannelly, who described her poem as "A True Statement of Facts," depicts the moment of Sherman's promise and its betrayal:

> The Army reached, in proper form, a noble hearted Mayor
> Surrendered all, and begged the foe their lovely city spare.
> The sacred promise sought was given, but soon a shout arose,
> Which told, alas! of pledges broke, and treachery of foes.[182]

Columbia's residents found this lie so treacherous because it persuaded them not to secure their valuables, which they believed to be safe from

pillage. After failing to save his house and possessions, physician and antiquarian Robert Wilson Gibbes lamented his gullibility. "Sherman told the Mayor on entering, that private property would not be disturbed," he wrote to his son in March, "hence, I made no effort to save anything. They commenced burning in the afternoon."[183] For southern civilians, Sherman's meeting with the mayor attained a kind of sanctified significance. It proved that Sherman was in league with the devil – the "Prince of Lies," as Dannelly deemed him – and worse, that he was no gentleman. They hoped to reveal Sherman's perfidy to the world and dishonor him as a man.[184]

Columbia's residents also intended to shame him as a *military* man; as Hampton had written heatedly in that first epistolary confrontation, Sherman's broken promise – the fact that he "laid the whole city in ashes" after its surrender "by the mayor, who demanded protection to private property" – was a sign of his disregard of the laws of civilized warfare and his reversion to savagery more barbaric than "the Indian."[185] By 1861, military theorists had agreed that deception in times of armed conflict is allowable as long as the officer had not "expressly or tacitly engaged to speak truth to an enemy." If an officer had "no moral obligation to disclose to [the enemy] the truth, we are perfectly justifiable in leading him into error, either by words or by actions." However, if he had dealt with the enemy initially in good faith, "it would be perfidy in us to deceive his confidence in our sincerity."[186] The men and women of Columbia obviously believed that by accepting the surrender of the city, Sherman had promised to deal with the residents in good faith; the fire, therefore, was an act of military and social treachery.

Sherman, however, clearly felt that deception – like profanity and mockery – could be a useful tool of hard war and admitted as much in his *Memoirs*. Ten years after the burning, Sherman revealed another motivation for his accusation of Hampton, conceding that, "in my official report of this conflagration, I distinctly charged it to General Wade Hampton, and confess I did so pointedly." His intent, he wrote, was "to shake the faith of his people in him, for he was in my opinion boastful, and professed to be the special champion of South Carolina."[187] One of the major goals of the Union Army's hard-war tactics was to demonstrate to southern civilians that neither their government nor their soldiers could protect them; Union leaders believed that this knowledge would crush civilian

morale and lead to a decline in support for the Confederacy.[188] Sherman's confession regarding his "pointed" charge against Hampton reveals the ways that he and other Union leaders used misdirection – "lies" – to wage hard war.

Even in this confession, Sherman could not resist another attack on Hampton, calling him "boastful"; the Union general saw Hampton as an inferior military man because he broke his chivalric promises, exaggerating his ability to defend the city of Columbia from Sherman's attacks. The northern press supported this perception of Sherman as the unmasker of southern pomposity; in March 1865, *Harper's Weekly* published "Sherman's True Victory," in which the author argued that Sherman's successes in Georgia and South Carolina had broken the heart of the rebellion because they put the lie to the Confederacy itself. "Sherman has exposed the mask and brag of the rebellion," the journalist crowed, and has ridiculed its "wretched bluster." Through his occupation and ruination of Columbia, Sherman exposed the dishonesty and unmanliness of the Confederate politicians and generals, who manipulated southern civilians with "passionate falsehoods and appeals. . . . The exposure of this enormous deceit is part of the true victory of Sherman."[189] The northern belief that Sherman, his march, and his burning of Columbia would enlighten the southern populace through a revelation of the "truth" of the Confederacy's hollow promises is an echo of southern hopes for northern "illumination" in the wake of the burning of Chambersburg. But neither side seemed to learn the lessons taught by urban ruins, for the disputes over the responsibility and masculinity of those involved continued for years.

Sherman received news of southerners' charges against him on a regular basis. In 1888, he declined to answer another of Hampton's "tirades" against him on the floor of the Senate and instead made his case through the account of a soldier from the Thirteenth Iowa.[190] The arguments about the destruction of Columbia outlasted the ruins themselves; by the time both northerners and southerners had finally tired of the debate, the debris had long been cleared from the streets and new buildings constructed in the empire style had replaced the brick warehouses and dwellings of the city center.[191] And despite the central role the burning – and vilification of Sherman – plays in the narrative of the city's history, the vestiges of its ruination are difficult to find in its landscape.

Historical markers note the sites of important buildings razed in the fire, but very little of the rubble remains. To find the bridge across the Saluda destroyed by the Confederates and a textile mill burned during the short siege of the city, visitors must pay a fee to enter the Riverbanks Zoo and Garden and ignore signs that advise walkers to stay on the trail. The six white columns that mark the site of Millwood, one of Wade Hampton's homes, still stand, crumbling amid a grove of oaks and longleaf pines, but they are located on private land, and any inquiries regarding their location are met with vague directions and a warning that the landowner owns a shotgun. The narratives of the city's destruction, so vivid and vitriolic, were clearly much more powerful than the ruins themselves. They helped residents take back the power they had lost during the fire and articulate their criticism of hard war and its violations of propriety and masculinity. However, the residents' constant recounting of the city's destruction and their continual attempts to make Sherman pay for it assured that Columbia would not rise from its ashes as Simms had hoped but would instead remain mired there, floundering in their depths.

The destruction of America's urban centers during the war was a tactic of ancient provenance and of tremendous material and symbolic power. Both Union and Confederate leaders, acting with the support of the malleable laws of warfare articulated before and after 1861, increasingly legitimated urban ruination as a military strategy. In response, soldiers on both sides set about burning and pillaging city centers with barely restrained glee. Motivations mattered, of course. Hampton, destroyed by southerners themselves, began the conversation about urban ruins and their multiple conflicting meanings. Hampton's ruins conveyed the competing aims of southern white sacrifice and black freedom and the ways that members of both groups appropriated urban ruins to suit their needs. After so much ruination of towns and cities on their own soil, Confederates under General Jubal Early embraced retaliation when they burned the town of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. But Chambersburg's ruins also became a touchstone for debates about responsibility. As much as Early embraced the blame for the burning of Chambersburg, both Wade Hampton and William Tecumseh Sherman disavowed the roles they played in the conflagration that consumed South Carolina's capital city. The vociferous

arguments about "savage" and "unmanly" acts of destruction and who should own up to them reveal the tremendous staying power of urban ruins in the southern imagination and the importance of words in keeping them there.

The urban ruins of the Civil War shocked Americans. The rubble was eloquent, speaking of the tremendous and sudden violence of war, of shells fired and exploding against walls, of fires started and spread by the wind. Such ruins seemed to belong to the old world – to Pompeii or Thebes – but were in fact new national landscapes, created by Americans in all their ingenuity and rage. As shells rained down on America's wartime cities and fires roared through their streets, homes were destroyed in addition to warehouses, courthouses, and banks. These domestic ruins – in cities, in towns, and especially on plantations – provoked similar debates about the nature of wartime violence. They also suggest the ways that war can invade the most sacred of American spaces and undermine the values it represents.

TWO

Lone Chimneys

Domestic Ruins

She held her breath and waited, squeezing the children a little too tightly. The guard had been called off and left with his command, so it was just a matter of time. The minutes passed. Then footsteps sounded on the stairs, one pair of boots and then two and then ten. The sound of a door hitting a wall echoed like a pistol shot, and she jumped. She could hear them, moving everywhere throughout the house, breaking open presses, bureaus, and trunks, sending wood splinters whirling through the air. The loud *riiiip* of sheets and pillowcases, the crash of medicine bottles thrown to the floor, the soft rustle of clothing rifled in a drawer. When they reached her room, she stood and ushered the children out into the front passage, stopping only to ask that they not disturb the trunk at the foot of the bed; it contained the belongings of her dead husband. They did not disturb it. But she discovered later that they mutilated a photograph of her husband that they found in a letterbox, putting it back when they were done. When she saw his image, scratched almost to pieces, she screamed with such wild abandon that her friends feared that she was possessed

by the devil. After the soldiers had left (they had been there an hour – only an hour!), she wandered through the house in a daze. It seemed like everything was broken. Objects both precious and mundane were strewn about the house and yard: shards of furniture, toothbrushes, silver spoons, brushes, cups and saucers, needle books, pins, thread, writing paper and envelopes, sealing wax and pens, books, shirts, shawls, and stockings. In the days after the raid, she found herself praying that the wretches who had brought such violence into her home and into all the homes of Virginia would have something unutterably terrible in store for them – in life or in death.[1]

As Union and Confederate armies marched, camped, and fought across the landscapes of the South, they destroyed thousands of homes, from planters' mansions to one-room log cabins inhabited by poor whites and slaves. Soldiers shot houses full of holes during battle and pillaged homes in the name of military necessity. The lone chimneys that loomed up in the barren countryside and the broken windows of pillaged houses gave both northerners and southerners another opportunity to articulate their ideas about the (im)possibilities of civilized warfare. In the mid-nineteenth century, domestic spaces were aligned with women and their bodies; therefore, the transformation of southern homes into piles of debris was an invasion of southern women's spatial and corporeal privacy. Such behavior was deliberate and pointed, part of a hard-war strategy that allowed soldiers to enact their class resentments and their desires for vengeance. And when they turned to the destruction of slave cabins and quarters, these soldiers expressed a range of responses to slavery and emancipation as both the cause and goal of the war. After the ashes cooled, the ruins of big houses and slave cabins stood in opposition – the former becoming the central symbol in the Lost Cause, the latter becoming an important emblem of the survival and emancipation of former slaves.

Battlefield Houses

Days after her first Christmas away from her childhood home, Mary Custis Lee received a letter from her husband, Robert E. Lee, who was resigned to Arlington's fate. Even if the house was not destroyed, he wrote, "it will be difficult even to be recognised. Even if the enemy had wished to

preserve it, the change of officers, the want of fuel, shelter etc., all the dire necessities of war, it is vain to think of its being in a habitable condition." The "dire necessities of war" (the effects of the war's weaponry on houses built of wood, brick, and stone) and the embrace of hard-war tactics by both northern and southern military strategists produced the majority of domestic ruins along the armies' most traveled paths between 1861 and 1865. For the Lees and for thousands of families across the South, the war that came to their doorsteps often ruined their homes, leaving nothing, as Robert E. Lee wrote sadly, but "the memories of those that to us render it sacred."[2]

Like southern cities, whose location made them lucrative trade centers and military targets, farmlands and plantations were ideal sites of battle, with their convenient nearby transportation networks, cleared fields, and extensive woodlots. Wherever there was a small skirmish or a large-scale battle across the rural landscapes of the South and especially in Virginia's rolling hills and valleys, which saw the most concentrated fighting, chimneys stood like sentinels, and the houses that managed to survive within former battlefields bore the marks of shot and shell in their walls and roofs. The domestic ruins of the battlefield proliferated across the southern landscape over the course of the war. By the summer of 1864, the editors of Alabama's *Montgomery Mail* wrote of Virginia's landscape of war with compassion, lamenting "the long, long range of her fertile lands, now bleak and barren wastes, with naught remaining but the charred and blackened remains of what were once the happy houses of her noble sons and accomplished daughters."[3] The "once happy houses" of Virginia's citizens were collateral damage during the Civil War; such destruction was considered unfortunate but unavoidable. It was also justifiable because it was an unintentional product of the process of waging war. Article 15 of the Union's Lieber Code bolstered this argument, clarifying that military necessity "allows all destruction of property" where contending armies are engaged.[4]

Some domestic ruins were not accidental, however. In their preparations for battle, soldiers deliberately razed houses that obscured the field of vision. In October 1862, Maine soldier John West Haley reported in his diary that the landscape around Falls Church, Virginia, "must have been a fine country before the war," but "all the way along we passed

the ruins of houses, that had been vacated by the owners, and had been torn down because they obstructed the view of our pickets."[5] Confederates engaged in this practice as well; Georgia soldier A. T. Holliday wrote to his wife from the trenches around Atlanta in July 1864 that he saw one house within the Confederate lines "burned up yesterday morning and one last night. It was I suppose done on account of being in the way of the cannon."[6] Soldiers also targeted homes that sheltered both civilian and military combatants. In March 1863, Massachusetts soldier Charles Follen Adams wrote to his sister from Belle Plain, Virginia, that a plantation he had been in the habit of visiting was probably not long for this world. "The pickets the other night saw somebody in the house (after the lights had been put out) signaling to the 'rebs' across the river," he wrote. "I don't know what was done about it but I guess he was taken care of, as it is a high crime."[7] Houses with two or more stories along waterways – like the plantation at Belle Plain, which sat on the banks of Potomac Creek – were often used as signal stations; however, their location also meant that these houses were easily spotted and vulnerable to fire from fleets patrolling rivers and channels. In January 1865, Union general John Porter Hatch determined that Confederate soldiers were using plantation houses on St. Helena Island as lookouts and ordered them destroyed. "Boats from the 'Pontiac'" burned them the next day.[8]

Artillerists on land and water were even more likely to destroy houses that harbored sharpshooters. Both the Union and Confederate Armies used sharpshooters, acting alone or in small groups. These men secreted themselves above the battlefield in trees or on the second and third stories of houses to train their sights on their targets. The same day that Union sailor Edward Tobey Barker's gunboat destroyed the house on shore "only *200* yards from us," in the Stono Inlet, South Carolina, the *Ellen* came under fire from the window of a house 400 yards inland from the river's edge. In response, the *Ellen* "quietly blew the roof off of it, making the woodwork fly all directions." As Barker looked on through a spyglass, he had sympathy for the house's owners. "It seemed a pity to blow up such a fine house," he wrote, "but the shot struck near the Captain of the Ellen and he thought he would drive all the rebels out by removing the roof for them."[9] Although Haley regretted destroying homes to get to sharpshooters – arguing that "what men could have secreted behind these houses,

situated as they were, could have done but little harm"—these marksmen were often deadly and had a distinct advantage over men in the field, who often could not see their adversaries until it was too late.[10] Therefore, both Union and Confederate soldiers worked to eliminate any protection that the sharpshooters could use. Georgian Hamilton Branch described one such coordinated attack of Confederate artillery and infantry near New Hope Church in June 1864. The battery on top of a hill "fired six shots at a house in the valley, from which the enemy's sharpshooters were annoying our men, at this signal the skirmishers from Gen. J. K. Jackson's Brigade advanced and set fire to the house and burned it to the ground."[11]

Using houses as prospects and protection, soldiers transformed these structures from civilian to military materiel, and they were therefore considered fair game in a fight. Likewise, when civilians took action against the enemy and when partisan troops maneuvered in the forests and hills of the South, the homes out of which they operated became part of the militarized landscape of war. Massachusetts officer John Fox reported that when Union troops retreated through the town of Winchester, Virginia, in June 1862, the treatment they received was "outrageous." Women used both firearms and domestic weapons as they "fired at us from windows and then hand grenades and bottles of fulminating powder and hot water and even chamber pots were used as missiles. Charley Mudge was undoubtedly wounded by a shot from a window." Fox and his compatriots "marked the houses where they occurred and I am much mistaken if they don't have a reckoning."[12] As Ohio captain Oscar Lawrence Jackson marched through Tennessee, the country "showed us ruins of where once splendid residences had been, and were burned because some of our parties had been fired on from the windows."[13] Civilians need not hurl more than insults, however, to invite disaster. In 1864, in Milledgeville, Georgia, a beautifully dressed woman walked up to the Union soldiers filing by on their march to the sea and spit on one of them; his friends found out who she was and burned down her house.[14] Many Confederate soldiers believed that in these situations, Union men were not preemptively vicious but were shockingly short-tempered. Gordon Thompson, serving in the Sixtieth Virginia in North Carolina in 1862, wrote to warn his wife, "The Yankes is not A going to hirt you if yew letthem Bee. They wont hirt any boddy That will let them bee and not Raise armes against them."[15]

To both Union and Confederate soldiers who accidentally or deliberately created domestic ruins across the South in the context of battle, such destruction was a "natural" consequence of war. The violent acts or insults of civilians were perceived as justification for the destruction of their homes. And as the burning of Chambersburg attests, soldiers motivated by vengeance could wreak havoc in the landscape of war. When Union or Confederate officers ordered the burning of individual houses or several homes in one neighborhood, they were often punishing guerrilla fighters. Confederate military officials saw guerrillas – "irregular" soldiers who attacked troops in small groups with the advantage of surprise – as vital weapons against Union forces. Guerrillas "helped check invading armies at every turn. They distracted the Federals from their primary objectives, caused them to alter strategies, injured the morale of Union troops, and forced the reassignment of men and resources to counter threats to railroads, river traffic, and foraging parties."[16] These irregular fighters were increasingly independent and uncontrollable actors in the Confederate war effort and remained elusive targets for those who tried to stop their sharp attacks. To fully exploit and enable their geographic mobility, guerrillas often established a series of safe houses where they met to make plans of attack and to recover from injuries after skirmishes. These bases were usually the houses of family members or ardent Confederates in remote areas of the South, and their use by guerrillas brought unwanted attention. To punish guerrillas for their actions and to try to prevent future attacks, Union commanders developed a retributive strategy that targeted these homes and others in the neighborhood.

In the summer of 1862, Massachusetts officer Walter Poor wrote to his sister, Mary, from Norfolk, Virginia, "Secesh are rampant and disposed to harass our men as much as possible." In response to this nuisance, "the people have been warned that their houses will be burned if they harbor any guerrillas."[17] In Pineville, South Carolina, guerrillas had used eight or ten houses (some of them unoccupied, as Pineville was a summer resort for South Carolina planters) as headquarters in the winter of 1865, and Union general Edward Potter ordered the dwellings burned to the ground by the army's rear guard in March.[18] Most Union soldiers approved of this policy, and some relished it. Massachusetts soldier Howard Dwight wrote to his brother from Arkansas in August 1862 that the best thing about fighting "Texican Rangers" is that "he rarely encumbers you

as your prisoner, and furnishes fire wood from his dwelling as soon as the locality of his abode is ascertained."[19]

Union policy often extended this retributive measure – the house harbors guerrillas, Union soldiers burn down the house – to allow the destruction of homes of uninvolved civilians as punishment for guerrilla activity. During the August 1864 Shenandoah campaign, friends of Virginian Judith McGuire reported that Union general George Armstrong Custer's cavalry were near Berryville when John Singleton Mosby's guerrilla band fired on them. "This so exasperated the Federals," McGuire wrote in her diary, "that an order was at once issued that whenever a picket-post was fired on the nearest house should be burned." According to McGuire's friend, the owners of the three residences that Custer set on fire had nothing to do with Mosby and had never supported his cause; regardless, the houses quickly became "heap[s] of ruins."[20] In December 1864, John West Haley recorded a similar order from General Gouverneur Warren in which he commanded the men of his Maine regiment to "burn all the houses and buildings within two miles of the road . . . in retaliation for the murder of our men" outside Petersburg, Virginia. Although Haley felt some sympathy for the "over a hundred families houseless, and with no shelter for their heads, and on this fearfully cold night," he still considered even those uninvolved in the murder of a Union soldier culpable because they supported the Confederate cause. "They had been clamorous for war," he wrote, "but little did they dream what they were asking for."[21] This assertion – that southern civilians were just as responsible for the Confederate Army's actions as the soldiers themselves – became a central argument in the northern discourse of civilized warfare and in justifications of the Union's hard-war policies in the South.

For his part, Mosby saw the destruction of these civilian homes as evidence of his success. He wrote to Confederate cavalry general J. E. B. Stuart from Virginia in 1863 that "the extent of the annoyance I have been to the Yankees may be judged by the fact, that baffled in their attempts to capture me they threaten to retaliate on citizens for my act[s]."[22] He may have also used these burning houses to provide emotional incentives for his men. A correspondent for the *Richmond Enquirer* reported from the guerrilla camps of Northern Virginia in June 1864 that one of Mosby's guerrillas, W. Martin, was "noted in the command for his reckless daring and insatiable spirit of revenge in which he hunts Yankees

in remembrance of his homestead burned over the heads of his aging parents."[23] The *New York Daily News* noted this destructive cycle of vengeance, publishing a January 1864 editorial complaining that "vandal acts neither deter the guerrillas, nor do they strengthen the attachment to the government." The property does not belong to the "roving bands," and therefore, they do not feel the loss. Instead, "every house fired by Federal soldiers swells [Confederate] ranks with bold and desperate men, filled with revenge against those who have burned their homes and turned their wives and little ones on the cold charity of the world, without a roof to cover them."[24] The destruction of these southern homes targeted because they harbored guerrilla bands or were located in the vicinity of a guerrilla attack suggests that both Union and Confederate soldiers used hard-war tactics almost from the first days of the conflict.

Union soldiers often did not even bother to prove connections between guerrillas and civilians to justify burning down civilians' houses. Sometimes, just being southern was enough to provoke northern soldiers. As early as November 1861, some Union soldiers were already expressing a desire to enact revenge on South Carolina and its residents. Massachusetts officer Wilder Dwight lamented to his mother from a Maryland camp that there was "fruit ripe in South Carolina and no one to pick it." He was sure that a whole division of his comrades, "instead of shivering in the mud of Maryland would gladly be pursuing a panic-stricken multitude with fire and sword."[25] Dwight's reference to the "panic-stricken multitude" makes it clear that some Union soldiers were comfortable with the idea of taking the war to doorsteps of southern homes; others savored the idea. While he rested in Savannah after six weeks' march from Atlanta to the sea, Connecticut private Watson Hitchcock knew "one thing is certain, if we make a raid into S.C. as we did through Ga. there won't be a house or barn left standing along the line of the march."[26] Illinois soldier Fred Marion wrote to his sister, "I have never burnt a house down yet, but if we go to South Carolina, I will burn som[e] down if I can get a chance."[27]

When they did get the chance, in the winter of 1864–65, Sherman's men set so many fires to houses and outbuildings in South Carolina that the soldiers became "begrimed with pitch pine smoke."[28] Hitchcock confirmed that he and his fellow soldiers were making good on their promises

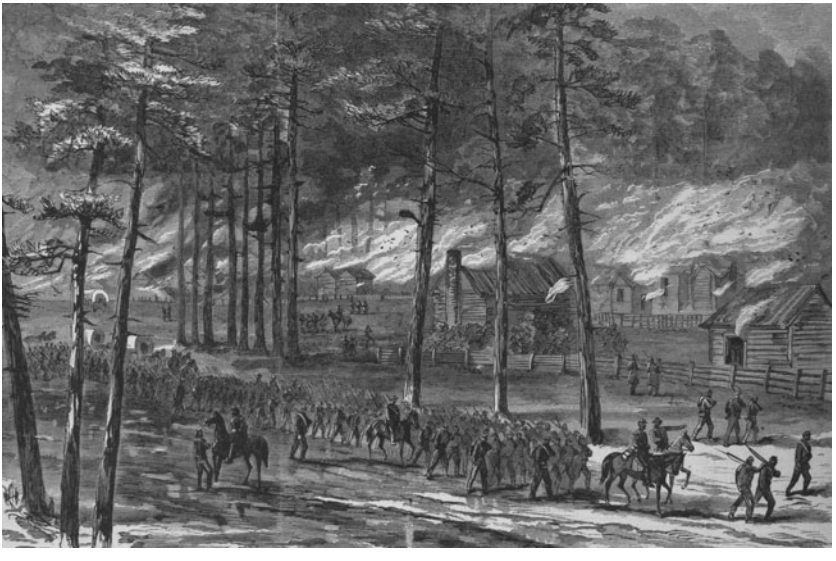

Figure 2.1. William Waud, *Sherman's March through South Carolina – Burning of McPhersonville, S.C., February 1, 1865*, *Harper's Weekly*, March 4, 1865, 136–37. Periodicals Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

to destroy everything in their paths. By February 1865, "we are burning nearly all of the property we come to." According to Union major George Nichols, immense columns of roiling, black smoke marked Sherman's track and "this time *houses* are *burning*, and South Carolina has commenced to pay an installment, long overdue, on her debt to justice and humanity."[29] While official orders directed men not to pillage or burn private homes, soldiers did so anyway. New Jersey lieutenant Sebastian Duncan wrote in astonishment to his mother in February 1865 that "it seems almost as though there was a Secret organization among the men to burn Every thing in the State for thus far, in spite of orders & the utmost efforts of officers, houses, in Some way, get on fire & nearly all we have passed thus far are I think in ashes."[30] All kinds of buildings attracted soldiers' attention; as *Harper's Weekly* artist William Waud's sketch, *Sherman's March through South Carolina – Burning of McPhersonville, S.C., February 1, 1865*, suggests, Union soldiers were just as likely to destroy the log cabins of poor whites and yeoman farmers as the mansions of planters (see fig. 2.1). In this image, Union troops file down a road, their line of march

echoed by a parallel row of one- and two-room log homes with flames pouring out of the roofs and windows; smoke billows up and around the treetops, but the men barely stop to look. The destruction of South Carolina homesteads clearly had become commonplace and democratic – Union soldiers wanted revenge on all Confederates alike.

Some southerners deserved ruination more than others, however. In the eyes of northern soldiers, the politicians and officers of the Confederacy were more culpable for the "crime" of secession than were poor farmers, so Union troops took aim at southern leaders' houses to make a point. In the first campaign of the war, in July 1861, Maine soldier Chandler Perry noted that "the farm joining this [camp] is owned by an officer in the secession army" and predicted that "if things don't suffer ther I wouldent say so."[31] William Hotchkin of the First New York Engineers, stationed outside Richmond in September 1864, "ra[n]sacked a house owned by a rebel, said to be a P[rovost].M[arshal]. in the C.S. Army."[32] The residences of more famous southern officers drew more attention and ire. Union soldiers turned the Lees' fears into reality and ransacked Arlington from attic to cellar in the first months of the war. And during the South Carolina campaign, Oscar Lawrence Jackson noted that "there were no residences of noted rebels left unburned" and that "several prominent generals were burned out a time or two."[33] Jackson was likely referring to Millwood, whose crumbling white pillars were all that remained of Confederate general Wade Hampton's family home in Columbia by the morning of February 18, 1865.[34] The soldiers who burned Hampton's houses – Sandhills, his other estate, also collapsed in flames – most likely took pleasure in this kind of destruction as both vengeful and patriotic.

Union soldiers also enjoyed destroying the homes of the South's political leaders, men viewed as having voted the South into the war without fighting in it. Virginia's politicians suffered the most in this regard, especially during hard-war campaigns in the summer of 1864. The home of Confederate congressman James Lyons outside of Richmond and Governor John Letcher's Lynchburg mansion were destroyed, and Union cavalry units set fire to late senator John Seddon's mansion northeast of Fredericksburg because they mistakenly thought it belonged to his brother, Confederate secretary of war James A. Seddon.[35] Politicians' homes in other Confederate states were also targets. While in Jackson, Mississippi,

in 1863, soldiers under Sherman's command "destroyed the plantation of Jeff Davis, there most effectually by fire. His house, with all the furniture &c were burnt"; the plantation owned by his brother, Joe Davis, "shared the like fate." Sherman's men went on to raze Governor Joseph E. Brown's mansion in Cherokee County, Georgia, during the march to the sea.[36] Burning the homes of southern politicians was an act of revenge; it also dealt a psychological blow. As Boston schoolgirl Julia Jellison Wright noted in her memoirs, it was a "necessary part of one's education to go and gaze reverently upon the abodes of our local great men." Their residences were "a very great source of civic pride," and communion with the houses would enable visitors to form a connection with the important male leaders of America's present and past.[37] By torching the homes of Confederate politicians, Union soldiers not only sought the satisfaction of punishing them for their actions but also attempted to undermine southern pride in the Confederacy.[38]

Confederates did not watch this destruction in silence; they angrily protested domestic ruination and accused Union soldiers of savagery. Southerners were especially infuriated when Union troops, retreating from the banks of the Pamunkey River during the Peninsula campaign, burned down a mansion known as the White House. Like Arlington, this building was connected to both Robert E. Lee and to the revered George Washington – he met and married Martha Custis and spent a portion of his married life there. Some Union soldiers did not know the history of the White House: Massachusetts private Eugene Harrison Freeman described its ruins as "nothing more nor less than the remains of what was once a very beautiful plantation and a very fine old mansion." It must have belonged to "some southern Nabob," he mused.[39] But Virginian Lizzie Alsop suspected that Union soldiers knew full well that the White House was owned by the Custis family and remarked with vitriol in her diary, "I should think Col. Lee would hate them all his life for this last act of barbarism."[40]

The emotional power of destroying southerners' homes and the meaning that their ruins represented – the punishment of the regional sin of secession and disunion – was intense. These homes were destroyed not by accident of location or fickle dictates of artillery trajectory and wind speed but by deliberate intent. Such calculated acts of destruction provoked

angry recriminations and heated debates about the nature of warfare on both sides of the conflict. But the acts of wartime demolition that incited the most accusations of savage behavior were the forced entrance into and the looting of southern homes.

Rifled and Ransacked: The Violation of Domestic Privacy

As Union soldiers ran through the streets of Columbia, South Carolina, on February 17, 1865, Mary Whilden was nervous but not terrified. Despite what she and her neighbors had been hearing about Sherman's devastating march through the southeastern part of the state, Whilden "had not feared the destruction of private property, although we felt assured that all public stores, warehouses and factories would be destroyed." But as she paced in her parlor in her house on Laurel Street, Whilden looked out the window and noticed fires set all over the city, and at that moment, "we *knew*, we *felt*, what was our doom." She gathered several family heirlooms and personal mementoes, including a gold-tipped palmetto walking cane that had belonged to her brother (who had been killed at the battle of Secessionville), and tied them to her and her children's underclothes. Taking bedding or furniture would be useless, she figured, because "they would be destroyed or stolen." As the family waited by the front door, Union soldiers set fire to a back room, and in a matter of minutes, "the flames soon swept over the entire house." Whilden stayed as long as she could, but the smoke soon "became so dense it was impossible to remain longer." As she and her children ran outside and then turned to watch their house burn to the ground, Whilden was devastated, but she also felt at least some sense of "satisfaction of knowing that the house, with all its contents, was burned without being rifled."[41] Whilden, like many other southerners in the 1860s, preferred to see all of her belongings reduced to ash than to witness Union soldiers destroying or stealing her most treasured possessions. The ransacking of Confederate homes created a different kind of ruin across the South during the war—the house's structure remained intact but its interior was filled with domestic debris. These ruined interiors were vivid symbols of the war's gendered invasions of privacy.

The Union military's policy on entering and pillaging houses was seemingly straightforward. Article 22 of the Lieber Code stated that "as

civilization has advanced during the last centuries, so has likewise steadily advanced, especially in war on land, the distinction between the private individual belonging to a hostile country and the hostile country itself, with men in arms." This principle meant that "the unarmed citizen is to be spared in person, property, and honor." Article 44 went on to establish a strict policy of intolerance of "wanton violence committed against persons in the invaded country," including "all pillage and sacking." Any officer or private caught engaging in such violence and "disobeying a superior ordering him to abstain from it" faced the severest of punishments: he "may be lawfully killed on the spot by such superior."[42]

While many Union soldiers obeyed these rules and refrained from "all pillage and sacking," some bitterly resented the policies that protected homes and plantations belonging to Confederates. While he was stationed in Winchester, Virginia, Massachusetts officer Charles Morse was provoked at "the way we are obliged to treated the people around here, they are all hot secessionists, and yet we are obliged to treat them with the greatest courtesy." Morse considered all southern civilians potential combatants; therefore, he wrote, "I don't believe in conciliation."[43] Watson Hitchcock agreed, sarcastically noting in a letter to his parents that "you know *we must not touch anything for it would be trespassing on the rights of our Southern brethren.*" The unfairness of these rules, according to Hitchcock, "makes the boys growl."[44] These policies sowed discontent among Union soldiers and fostered Confederate confidence. By June 1862, General George Sears Greene had become unpopular among the men of the Second Massachusetts "on account of the extraordinary care he takes to protect the property of the most rabid secessionists," Union officer Richard Cary wrote, "a course which I believe is fraught with evil encouraging the rebels & disappointing Union men."[45]

Cary did not have to wait long to see a change of course in Union policy, however. George McClellan's retreat after the Seven Days' Battles and mounting criticism of the Lincoln administration's handling of the war led northern politicians to embrace a more aggressive war strategy. On July 17, 1862, Congress passed the Second Confiscation Act, which allowed military leaders to appropriate the private property of Confederates, and Lincoln decided later that month to give the newly appointed commander of the Army of Virginia, John Pope, "a free hand to wage war."[46] In late July, Pope issued four general orders (Nos. 5, 7, 11, and 13)

that determined that the Army of Virginia was to "subsist upon the country" and that even southern civilians who did not take part in guerrilla attacks on the army's supply trains or soldiers would be held accountable for those attacks. Order No. 13 also "prohibited the common military practice of protecting the homes of citizens who requested such protection."[47] After more than a year of military disappointments and delays, Lincoln became convinced that the practice of what the Lieber Code later termed "vigorous war" would bring more success. He therefore supported Pope's orders with an executive order that allowed commanders in the field to seize any civilian property that could serve Union ends. Although Lincoln also discouraged gratuitous burning and looting, with this order, he for all intents and purposes sanctioned acts of pillage within southern homes.[48]

Cary confessed that although he had yearned to subsist on the South, he did "not altogether approve Genl. Pope's last order taking off *all* guards on property as I fear it will lead to a system of plundering among soldiers very destructive to discipline." He supported the order overall, however, as its principle was "quite proper."[49] As Cary feared, the ease with which Union soldiers converted their "growling" resentment of Confederate protectionism to the punishment of plunder was swift. As one Union soldier wrote from Culpeper Court House on July 31, 1862, "men who at home would have shuddered at the suggestion of touching another's property now appropriate remorselessly whatever comes in their reach." Soldiers believed that thieving had become "authorized practice" and cited Pope's orders to justify their looting of southern houses.[50] By mid-August, this new policy of vigorous war clearly had had "a bad effect. There was always a large number enough who would, in spite of the most stringent rules, [act] the plunderer, but the number is now five times as great."[51] And while army codes of conduct and individual commanders established harsh punishments for wanton destruction of southern homes, soldiers caught in such acts were rarely executed; at most, they were court-martialed and in extreme cases dishonorably discharged from the army. Both the notion of military necessity and the reluctance of officers to punish their men for ransacking resulted in outright disobedience; when soldiers felt like looting and burning buildings, they did so.[52]

From the earliest days of the war and especially after Pope's orders, many Union soldiers regarded the plundering of southern homes as a

useful strategy for subduing Confederate civilians. By the time Sherman's men began burning homes, mills, and factories in and around Atlanta and set out on the march to the sea in November 1864, seasoned soldiers had "embraced acts of destruction" as "an effective weapon against Southerners."[53] This position understood civilians as combatants by virtue of their economic, emotional, or psychological support of the Confederate Army. Sherman clarified this theory (so persuasively, in fact, that Americans wrongly assume he invented hard war as a strategy), writing to the mayor of Atlanta in September 1864 that the city's residents, despite being far away from the theaters of combat between massive armies, had devoted "your houses and streets and roads to the dread uses of war" and thus "deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out." By conceiving of civilians as combatants, Union Army strategists explained and justified the looting of southern homesteads. By destroying both public and private property, Sherman argued to Ulysses S. Grant, the army would operate "upon the minds of sensible men," waging and winning a psychological battle that would undermine southern morale and convince Confederate civilians that a Union victory was inevitable.[54]

Such an approach to warfare meant that looting southern homes was as effective a psychological strategy as burning them to the ground. Several historians have argued that wartime accounts of pillaging were exaggerated, so much so that one has dismissed looting and vandalism as "not in any way equivalent to the leveling of towns and gutting of cities."[55] But Mary Whilden's relief that her belongings had been untouched by the "Vandal horde" before they were consumed by fire suggests that home burning was in fact not as devastating to some southerners as knowing that their homes had been torn apart from the inside. Rifling through people's belongings and destroying their possessions, all while entering their homes without permission or invitation, were violent and gendered acts of power, communicating to inhabitants that they no longer had control over their private spaces.

In May 1861, Virginian Judith McGuire heard from a friend that Union soldiers had entered her house outside of Alexandria and searched it for firearms. They did not ransack the place entirely and took only her husband's old hunting rifle and her sewing machine; nevertheless, McGuire was enraged. She imagined the "parlours and dining rooms" that

had once been opened freely to northern visitors "now so ignominiously searched" and subject to a "wicked war of invasion." "It makes my blood boil," she wrote, "when I remember that our private rooms, our chambers, our very sanctums, are thrown open to a ruthless soldiery."[56] Many southern women and men understood Union soldiers' pillaging of their houses as acts of wartime impropriety, much like their use of profanity and their mockery of women and children during military occupations. Southerners also saw these acts as invasions of their privacy, a right not yet legally established but culturally understood. Early legal and cultural discussions of the right to privacy addressed epistolary communications and then expanded to include libel, slander, and intellectual property. Increasingly in the nineteenth century, however, Americans had also begun to conceive of trespassing as a violation of both property and privacy rights, rooting the concept of privacy in the ability to protect one's family and one's home from intrusion.[57] The immense changes that market capitalism and industrialization brought to American life increasingly concentrated and sanctified zones of privacy in domestic spaces, sites that women most often controlled.[58] Thus, when Union soldiers broke down doors, wrenched open personal trunks, and tossed furniture around women's bedrooms, they were violating gendered rights and spaces.[59]

Union invasions of Confederate privacy began at the front doors of southern homes. Virginian R. M. Conrad wrote to his son, Daniel, in September 1862 that during Union soldiers' most recent occupation of the neighborhood, they "showed themselves even more as brutal ruffians and thieves than before." He made it known to Union commanders that "any attempts to invade my house would be met with such force as I could employ, no matter what the consequences." His strategy, which he proudly claimed was successful, was to step outside and "meet him near the gate and stop him outside the front door."[60] As Union soldiers poured into Columbia, Grace Elmore and her family "fastened all the doors and windows on the lower floors and then went upstairs" to await their fate. Crowds of Union soldiers soon gathered on the porch and "threatened all sorts of things if the doors were not opened." Elmore was prepared to wait it out but "the servants got frightened" and opened the doors, and "in they streamed."[61]

The front door—the threshold of the house—usually acted as a social barrier, determining who could come in and who must stay out. That

Union soldiers began here with a knock and then proceeded with a violent (and often armed) incursion into the domestic interior suggests that one function of wartime home invasions was to subvert middle- and upper-class social conventions and in so doing humiliate and infuriate residents. In the antebellum period, the ground floor of a house was a public space, "well designed for keeping people waiting, making an entrance, and attenuating the theatrics of hospitality."[62] By confronting southerners at their doorsteps and then forcing their way into interiors, Union soldiers undermined homeowners' power to control social relations in their domestic spaces. Southerners resented this lack of social courtesy and all it represented.[63]

In Confederate eyes, Union soldiers lost their status as "gentlemen" when they broke down front doors. Once inside, soldiers continued to cross thresholds "without invitation" and act like "savages."[64] They rushed "through the house breaking and stealing and destroying every thing that came in their way," throwing open or knocking down doors to parlors, studies, kitchens, and bedrooms as they went.[65] According to a Confederate woman living in Cleveland, Tennessee, her relatives in Georgia would "never know what constitutes the Yankee army until you see the path of desolation and destruction carved by their ruthless hands." She had seen "six or eight Yankees enter the house, demand the keys, and before they could be produced, burst the door (of a locked room) down."[66] At Virginia's Oakley Plantation, located between the Wilderness and Spotsylvania and serving as a hospital for wounded Confederates, Maria Garnett tried to prevent the pillage of the house after her father "made his escape into the woods," but she did not succeed. "They broke open the house ransacked it from top to bottom at least fifty times" and "broke open every door but the parlor." One of her neighbors, Dr. Daily, estimated that "there was more than one thousand in the house" who "played destruction generally."[67]

As they charged up stairs, soldiers who entered the bedrooms of southern women trespassed in a space usually protected by the expectation of privacy. Grace Elmore was just sitting down on her bed on the second floor of her house when the door, which opened onto a private passage, "was burst open by a man's dashing himself against it." This sudden entrance took her aback, but she claimed that it did not scare her: "If he expected to frighten me, he was mistaken." She and the other women of

her household sat in different parts of the room, "quiet and cool." Elmore calmly told the intruder to search all he wanted and to break open whatever drawers he found tempting. After all, she said, "your soldiers have already broken all the other locks." This kind of shaming strategy, which southern women maintained they used frequently during home invasions, worked, and the man turned and left her bedroom "with not one word more."[68] The most egregious act of assault against a woman's privacy during the burning of Columbia was the attempt of several Union soldiers to enter the room of Mrs. Hutson Lee as she was giving birth to a baby. According to Dr. Daniel Trezevant, who was attending her, the Yankees vowed to "see a dam rebel born" and were prevented from bursting into Lee's bedroom only when the doctor shut the door and braced himself against it, saying, "You'll enter only over my body."[69] The soldiers were stymied and wandered off, but Columbia's residents told this story over and over again in their accounts as proof of one of the worst kinds of domestic trespasses – the forced entry of an uninvited, unrelated male into a delivering mother's bedroom.[70]

These confrontations between northern men and southern women in female domestic spaces were as much acts of war as were artillery duels on the battlefield.[71] And while many southern women were confident that their bodies were safe from attack during these encounters, in recounting these home invasions in private letters and public newspaper accounts, southerners (both male and female) described these instances of forced entry as sexual assaults, often using the provocative terms *outrage* and *pillage* to describe them.[72] A Baltimore artist and southern sympathizer, Adalbert John Volck, made the connection between the destruction of southern homes and physical attacks on women's bodies clear in his etching, *Track of the Armies* (1863) (see fig. 2.2). In this image, a Confederate soldier comes home to find his house destroyed; the stone blocks are knocked into piles, the door frame is splintered, and the stove lies in pieces. In the midst of the rubble, sprawled out at the foot of the crumbling hearth, are the torso, head, and right arm of a woman; the rest of her body is buried in the domestic ruin. Her shirt has been torn away and her breasts are visible, suggesting that she was physically assaulted before the house was destroyed around her; she clutches a chunk of her assailant's hair. Her body has been sexually violated, along with the house and

Figure 2.2. V. Blada [Adalbert John Volck], *Track of the Armies.* Etching No. 15, *Confederate War Etchings* (Baltimore, 1863), Accession # PR-010-01, Collection of the New-York Historical Society, New York.

everything in it; Volck merges the female body with the material remnants of the home, visually fusing the acts of domestic and sexual ruin.[73]

These depictions of home invasions as physical assaults were not surprising given that the "conceptual conflation between women's bodies and domestic interiors" was prevalent in the antebellum period and grew even stronger after the war.[74] But rape was not only a metaphor for home invasions in southern accounts; it was a realistic component of them. Women caught alone in their bedrooms during domestic raids were cognizant of their vulnerability and feared that soldiers would attempt or succeed in what one worrying husband called "personal pillage."[75] One Virginia woman whose house was ransacked by Union general David Hunter's men in 1864 left her room as soldiers poured through its doorway. "I was afraid to stay," she wrote. The front passage was a public place; there, "I hoped to be safe from personal violence."[76] Southern women resented their loss of privacy in these home invasions, but the public nature of

these acts could sometimes save women from bodily harm. In other cases, however, the privacy of bedrooms worked in the opposite way. The location and layout of these spaces (usually with only one doorway to use as an escape route) meant that acts of rape and sexual assault could be "screened by the privacy of the apartment, with but few eyes to witness."[77]

It is difficult to know precisely how many southern women were sexually assaulted during the ransacking of their homes over the course of the war. Many women did not tell anyone what had happened to them, although some stories made the papers. In June 1864, the *Richmond Enquirer* published an account of a "Yankee raiding party which passed by McIvor's" and "committed rapes on three respectable ladies in that neighborhood, one of them married and the other two single ladies."[78] During Sherman's march, Georgia newspapers reported rapes of both white and black women in their homes. On November 29, 1864, the *Atlanta Constitutionalist* reported that as Union soldiers marched through Milledgeville, "the most dreadful thing was their violence towards the ladies. At least six or seven suffered the last extremity. One young girl became crazed in consequence, and has been sent to the asylum."[79] Anna Cook, who was living in Milledgeville at the time of its capitulation, recorded these attacks in her diary. "The worst of their acts," Cook wrote sadly, "was committed to poor Mrs. Nichols—violence done, an atrocity committed that ought to make her husband an enemy into death. Poor woman I fear she has been driven crazy."[80] After writing down Mrs. Nichols's name, Cook tried to scratch it out, perhaps to hide the woman's identity. Similarly, newspaper reports of rapes and other violent assaults against white women declined to name them. As the *Enquirer* noted regarding the rape victims near McIvor's, "we have the names of these ladies, but of course cannot make them public."[81]

While many southerners attempted to regain rape victims' rights to privacy by shielding their assaults from prying eyes, some actively sought redress in the courts. Under Section 30 of U.S. Senate Bill 511 (the Enrollment Act) of 1863, U.S. military courts received jurisdiction over the common-law felony of rape, and they prosecuted approximately 450 sexual crimes against white and black women.[82] Southern newspapers and commentators were a little more open about Union soldiers' attacks on black women in cities and on plantations, although it is hard to read their

lack of name identification as resulting from the urge to protect women's privacy rather than a tradition of rendering black women anonymous – without individual identity – in the press. In any case, free and enslaved women were vulnerable to sexual assault both in the houses of whites in which they served and in their personal quarters, which were often placed at a distance from the Big House and therefore were private in ways that could be dangerous. In July 1862, the *Lynchburg Republican* reported that "a [Union] cavalry officer committed a rape upon a negro servant girl in the presence of her fellow laborers." This act presumably occurred either in the slave quarters or out in the yard, since "two others chased some girls into their mistress' house, and, failing to catch them, went round to all the doors, and behaved in a manner too disgusting to particularize." Southerners saw these acts of violence against black women as suggestive of the North's "state of society," which was clearly "debased."[83]

In exposing these acts of violence against free and enslaved black women, southern whites conveniently ignored the long history of sexual assaults against these most vulnerable southerners within the institution of slavery. Southern whites did so to depict northern white men as the dishonorable instigators of "outrage" in southern domestic spaces. And by simultaneously publicizing northern acts of home invasion and rape but keeping most victims' privacy intact, Confederates shaped their discourse of civilized warfare and argued that southerners were the true guardians of the home and the protectors of the rights of personal and domestic privacy.

Southern women not only feared for their physical safety when Union soldiers entered their homes but also dreaded the loss of household goods they had spent lifetimes acquiring. Every domestic object that southern homeowners lacked the time or the ability to hide was subject to Union soldiers' rifling during raids. Some soldiers may have enjoyed the novelty of such activity, the pure adrenaline rush of smashing objects to bits after long days in camp or in the saddle.[84] For many other northern soldiers, however, the pleasure of such destruction was rooted in the meaning of these objects for southerners.[85] In May 1864, several of General Benjamin Butler's men vandalized the residence of a Mr. Peers between Petersburg and Richmond on a well-traveled military route. The house "has been despoiled in every conceivable manner. Handsome and elegant

mahogany furniture has been broken into fragments" and "nice feather beds besmeared with filth."[86] When Union soldiers entered southern homes such as Peers's and began smashing "elegant" furniture and tearing apart "nice" beds, they meant to undermine both the right of privacy and elite privilege, enacting class resentments that they brought with them to the battlefields of the South.

As a way to strike out at the wealth of some southerners – many of their gains ill-gotten through the slave trade – some Union soldiers particularly enjoyed appropriating and destroying the household object that most represented elite status: pianos. During the antebellum period, "moderately priced" American-made pianos cost between $250 and $500 – around one year's wages for a working man and therefore out of range for most (even emerging middle-class) Americans.[87] Mastery of this particular musical instrument was also associated with female refinement and domesticity, especially in the context of elite southern culture. Some soldiers enjoyed forcing women to play these instruments, another gendered assault on domestic spaces shot through with class tensions. Union soldier Horace Hooker reported to his wife in July 1863 that after setting out to "burn every *Secesh house within five miles*," he and his compatriots moved all of the furniture out of one house, being "very careful not to injure" a "very fine piano." The soldiers "*very politely* requested the young lady *to give them a tune on the piano*," which she did "just as the flames were well under way." She played "Yankee Doodle" "like a *brick*" and Hooker and his compatriots were brought to tears, even as the roar of the flames drowned out the sound of the music.[88] Sometimes this favorite "pastime" shaded into more violent assaults. Reports of the sack of Milledgeville, Georgia, included instances of ladies "stripped of their garments, and, in such a plight, compelled to play the piano, and in the event of a refusal, switched unmercifully."[89] Such acts of torture reveal northern soldiers' gender and class resentments and suggest that some northern soldiers were not above engaging in disturbing reenactments of the rituals of slavery.

After the playing stopped, Union soldiers sometimes smashed pianos to bits, taking pleasure in annihilating these symbols of elite privilege. In Stafford Court House in the spring of 1862, southern papers reported that northern soldiers had "exhibit[ed] their thievish and fiendish

malignity," breaking "heavy articles, such as sideboards, pianos, etc., . . . with axes – smaller articles they carried off with them."[90] Some sought not to destroy but to preserve pianos for their own pleasure back in camp. Although most pianos were quite heavy, soldiers with wagons could remove the instruments from houses during raids. William Sabin, who took part in a raid on Darien, Georgia, in the summer of 1863, recounted to a friend, "We run our steamer along side the dock and rushed up into the town – it was nearly deserted, but large quantities of nice furniture, and other articles were left and as the Col said *go in* – an indiscriminate plunder commenced and the men came back loaded with Pianos – sofas – chairs – tables &c. – "[91] As with other instances of theft and pillaging, the culprits sometimes were not northerners. South Carolinian soldier Augustine Smythe wrote to his sister, Jane, that during a tour of Johns Island outside Charleston in early October 1862, he had seen "in one house where were two or three fine pianos the soldiers have cut the strings & in other ways rendered them unfit for use." Smythe thought that it was a "crying shame upon both our men & our officers that such a thing should be allowed."[92] In class resentment, it seems, some Union and Confederate soldiers at times found common cause.

But for northern soldiers, the looting and destruction of domestic objects may have created a sense of satisfaction, a kind of vengeful pleasure in the "fall" of the southerners whom northerners perceived as having started this cruel war. The loss of furniture, clothing, crockery, china, clothing, carpets, and other domestic furnishings was galling; it also created economic hardships for southern women. But the destruction and theft of more personal items – mementoes and letters – struck the hardest blow against domestic privacy and left wounds that refused to heal. Personal relics "were an integral part of social relationships [at the] very heart of Southern identity."[93] During the burning of Columbia, the wife of a physician was able to take only one "valuable article" from their apartment in the city center before the fire caught them – a "portrait of a beloved mother." Mrs. Fair ran out of the building with the painting in her arms but "was not permitted to save even this, as a soldier cut the picture in pieces." Her husband was afraid she might never recover from the shock.[94] Both soldiers and civilians invested such objects with emotional meaning and value and keenly felt their loss. Shenandoah Valley resident

B. P. Lewis, whose house was ransacked in the fall of 1864, lamented, "I have not in the whole house one single thing that was ever given to me as a token of affection or remembrance. Everything that had an association or remembrance attached to it is gone. . . . You cannot think what a sense of utter bereavement I sometimes have," she wrote. "What a strange pain it is!"[95]

Southerners found the destruction and theft of personal mementoes that had no monetary value completely gratuitous. To them, there was no way that northern soldiers could possibly claim that a daguerreotype of a loved one or a lock of a child's hair were objects of military necessity. One journalist was astonished by such acts of "vandalism" in which "property that could by no possibility be of any earthly use to them, was wantonly seized on, and if not carried off, destroyed before the eyes of its owner."[96] Southerners were particularly outraged when Union soldiers read or shredded private letters and papers snatched by the intruders from desk drawers and on writing tables in southern parlors and studies. Attorney J. M. Forbes of Fauquier County, Virginia, reported that Union soldiers "broke open his secretary, and seized and scattered to the winds all his private papers."[97] Some Union soldiers took paper because they wanted it for writing letters, for entertainment in camp, or as souvenirs. Lewis remarked bitterly that "our Yankee Thieves were educated and accomplished – They were men of taste and letters! – providing themselves with stationery for 'Pencillings by the way' & light reading to enliven the tedium of *forced* marches."[98] But others wanted to procure southerners' letters for the same reason they took items out of drawers and trunks and scattered them to the winds: to expose what was private to public view.

When they opened, read, or destroyed southern letters, Union soldiers were not just acting symbolically. They were undermining an important part of the assumed right to privacy in confidential correspondence, a right that had been codified in the eighteenth century. Legal protections regarding epistolary confidence in regard to the postal system had been in place since the 1710 Post Office Act of Parliament, and by the early nineteenth century, Americans regarded the sanctity of the mails as absolute. This sacredness of personal correspondence "was buttressed by related private law doctrines protecting the unpublished expressions in letters from unwanted disclosure."[99] Under state law and in common practice,

the content of letters belonged only to the sender and the recipient, and only the sender could choose to make this content public. By strewing letters on floors or throwing them out of windows, by opening them, reading them, and laughing at them, Union soldiers were not only making a mockery of southern social relations but also engaging in violations of epistolary privacy. Southerners believed that such actions revealed the sordid nature of northern military men and did not hesitate to criticize them for it.

Southern men and women used a variety of historical, biblical, and moral terms to depict Union soldiers in their reports of the "outrages" taking place in their homes; all of these terms aligned northern troops with savage methods of warfare. For many southerners, Union pillagers were "merciless marauders," brutal invaders who "burnt and destroyed everything in their path."[100] These outrages reminded many southerners of the famous barbarians of the ancient world. Virginia soldier Charles Morris wrote to his wife in June 1863, "I suppose our poor citizens are to suffer all the horrors of Raids & have everything taken away." He was at a loss as how to advise her, however, as "I don't see what we can do against these Vandal proceedings."[101] Trezevant, who lost his home and office on Plain Street in Columbia, thought Union atrocities were even worse than the acts of these ancient marauders: "The scenes I have witnessed in Columbia, were scenes that would have driven Allaric the Goth into frenzied ecstasies had he witnessed them."[102] Comparing northern troops to Vandals and Goths, who led a series of fifth-century invasions and sacks of Rome, was evocative. Such imagery aligned Union soldiers with barbaric methods of warfare and cultures that many Americans believed to be uncivilized; it also suggested that the expectations for proper male behavior – moral restraint, respectful treatment of women – had been abandoned in the context of war.

Southerners were quick to link the savage nature of Union soldiers to the corrupted ideals of the Union itself. In October 1864, Confederate soldier George Neese wrote from Lynchburg, Virginia, that "these highly civilized and pious Yankees have at last gallantly and patriotically resorted to the torch as a glorious means through which to strangle the great rebellion, by trying to starve women and children of this Southland."[103] Neese's point here – that through their destruction and pillaging

of southern homes, Union soldiers undermined their supposedly civilized and patriotic war aims—was echoed in private letters and diaries as well as in the public and international press. For German businessman August Conrad, the supposed "noble warriors for freedom and the rights of man" who raged through Columbia's streets in February 1865 were in reality "robbers, thieves, and incendiaries."[104] To the New York correspondent for the *Times* of London, by 1864 it had become evident that "the war has lost its original character, and is fast degenerating into a savage contest." The writer blamed northern soldiers, who as the invaders were the first to "commenc[e] hostilities against women and children, and forgo the decencies and amenities of civilization in [their] treatment of the helpless inhabitants of conquered cities."[105]

Southerners also pointed out the hypocrisy of Lincoln's soldiers, who were working to rebuild and restore the national house by destroying southern homes. Margaret Brown Wight, a Virginian living in Hanover Court House, described the pillaging of her neighbor's plantation in 1863 and then remarked, "They are pursuing a fine course to bring about *reunion.*"[106] A resident of King and Queen County, Virginia, reported that "Sheridan's thieves" burned dwellings and ransacked parlors during a July 1864 campaign, noting with outrage that "these are only a few of the acts of a Christian government of the North to restore the Union."[107] White southerners relished these chances to expose the corruption of the North's high ideals and used domestic ruins to justify secession. In so doing, they perceived themselves as bolstering the Confederate nation and undermining the Union war effort.

When soldiers entered and ransacked the homes of southern whites, breaking furniture and pianos, tearing clothing, burning personal mementoes, and reading private letters, they were asserting their military power over southern civilians and undermining their claims to elite status. But these troops were also violating the sanctified relationship among white women, the home, and privacy and were therefore acting like "savages" and "devils." Southern society's most valued institutions—patriarchy, slavery, and the chivalry that protected both—were more rooted in the home than in any other space in the southern landscape. Northern soldiers' acts of destruction and pillage and their creation of ruined interiors were therefore loaded with cultural and political meaning. And in the

plantation landscapes of the South, the inner sanctums of the elite – the Big Houses – were not the only domestic spaces to draw Union soldiers' attention and pique their interest.

The Ruins of Slavery

When Judith McGuire lamented the invasion of her home in May 1861, she wondered if the northerners' actions had been "a mere pretext for satisfying a little innocent curiosity for seeing the interior of Southern homes?"[108] As they marched, camped, and fought through the southern landscape, Union soldiers expressed a great deal of curiosity (some innocent, some not) about the novel "scenes" they were witnessing, and their diaries and letters often read like wartime travel narratives. The "interior[s] of southern homes" were captivating, but the cabins of slaves were especially intriguing components of the plantation landscape, both before and after they were ruined. White southerners' wartime accounts often focused on the invasion, ruination, and looting of slaves' cabins, seizing the opportunity to condemn the Union war effort as hypocritical. However, the ruination and abandonment of the slave quarters meant something very different to their former inhabitants.

For soldiers inclined to contemplate the southern environs, plantations were exotic, with no real analogue in the North. Maine soldier Leander Cram, who found himself on Graham's Plantation in Hilton Head, South Carolina, in November 1861, wrote a detailed description of this cotton plantation and its "great many slaves" in his diary: "There are about a dozen negro houses standing at convenient distances from the 'Massa's' house," he wrote, "These houses are about 20 feet square with chimneys outside, and fireplaces forming one part of the end, four windows without glass having blinds to open, and are built in two rows." These whitewashed cabins with boarded walls and shingled roofs were a definite contrast to the "splendidly finished and furnished mansion, one story high, big windows, green blinds, three chimneys, and roofed piazzas on the North and South sides."[109]

Cram's attention to architectural detail when touring Graham's Plantation was somewhat rare, but many other northern soldiers took the time to explore both Big Houses and slave quarters while on the march or

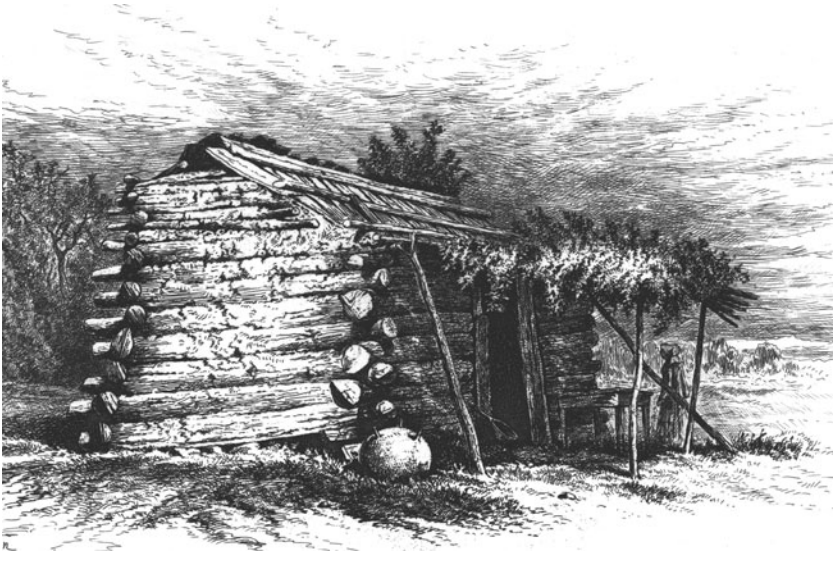

Figure 2.3. Edwin Forbes, *A Slave Cabin*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]), plate 10, image 1. Map Room, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

during excursions away from camp. When Edward Tobey Barker went ashore near Port Royal, South Carolina, in February 1862, he visited two deserted plantations and "went all over the house & negro quarters." Two weeks later, he had his picture taken "in front of the negro quarters" of James Seabrook's plantation on St. Helena Island, promising his mother, "I shall try to get a copy to send to you."[110] Both northern newspaper illustrator Edwin Forbes and Union cartographer Robert Knox Sneden included images of slave cabins in their notebooks and collections, thinking that such depictions would appeal to northern audiences. Forbes's *A Slave Cabin* and other such images focus on the architecture of the cabin itself rather than its inhabitants (see fig. 2.3).[111] The cabin dominates the image and is constructed of notched logs, with a board roof and a portico made of pine branches. This focus suggests that Forbes considered the building a unique element of the southern environment and one that was already transforming from a marker of the present into a relic of the past. In another plate near the end of his collection, Forbes depicts a boarded-up

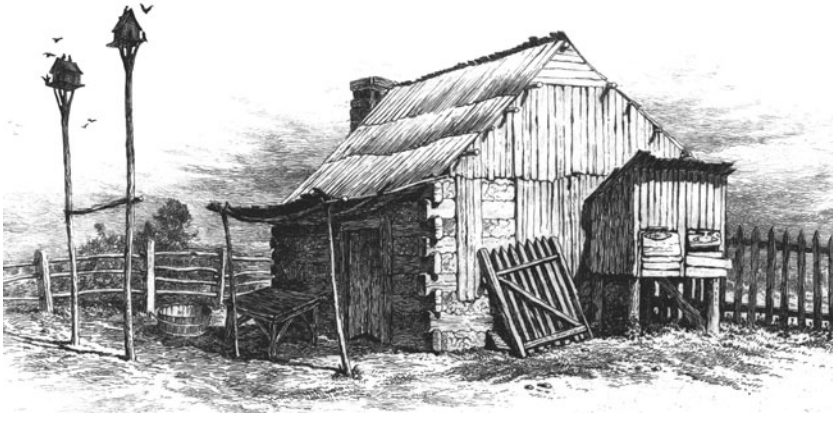

Figure 2.4. Edwin Forbes, *Gone Off with the Yankees: A Deserted Negro Cabin*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]). Map Room, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

and deserted "negro cabin," titling the image, *Gone Off with the Yankees* (see fig. 2.4). Here is the slave cabin abandoned, and with it the system of slavery – a symbol of the South's socioeconomic system in the process of ruination.

Union soldiers' curiosity was justified. Slave cabins were significant features of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century southern environment. Many small farms and larger plantations had at least one cabin to house the owner's slaves or those hired for seasonal work; in cities, slaves often occupied the second story of work buildings separate from the main house on urban lots.[112] Their presence in most areas of the South meant that slave cabins, like Big Houses, became collateral damage during battles. In September 1863, Confederate officer Arthur W. Hyatt crept toward a Union regiment's encampment on Louisiana's Sterling Plantation. The Union soldiers had bedded down in the sugarhouse and the slave quarters, and when Hyatt and his men launched their "vigorous" attack, they managed to drive the enemy "from cabin to cabin, until they were forced to take shelter behind the levee." After the skirmish, Hyatt went back over the plantation grounds and looked with amazement at

the bullet holes riddling the cabins.[113] On rural plantations that bordered rivers, the slave quarters' proximity to the water made them vulnerable to cannon fire from Union gunboats. In January 1864, the *Petersburg Register* reported that an ironclad "raid" along the James River had burned "all the buildings – kitchens, negro houses, &c – save the mansion" of Lower Brandon Plantation.[114] Edward Tobey Barker reported from Stono Inlet that while firing at a house in which "men were seen yesterday," his gunboat's artillerists (using an eleven-incher and a howitzer) destroyed most of the property's structures: "The place & negro quarters were well used up with canister & grape."[115] Urban slave quarters had a different kind of vulnerability but one similarly dictated by location: their proximity to city townhouses and mansions close to or within city centers meant that they were as exposed to the plunging cannon shot and shell of Union siege guns as were slave owners' residences.

Slave cabins were also just as susceptible to occupation and use by soldiers. In the midst of battles, both Union and Confederate armies used slave quarters as brigade headquarters, hospitals, and cookhouses.[116] Soldiers also used slave cabins for shelter, especially when on the march or in inclement weather. In April 1862, as New Hampshire soldier Wesley T. Harris's regiment marched across Edisto Island, South Carolina, companies "picked out Nigger houses to stop in"; they provided shade from the sun but not much protection from the "musquitoes & land flies," of which there were "very plenty."[117] Connecticut soldier Watson C. Hitchcock also found slave cabins to be less than ideal accommodations. While on picket near Stafford Court House, Virginia, in February 1863, "we were stationed in some old Nigger huts & had quite comfortable quarters for this section of the country," he wrote. "But I rather have been in our Pig Pen with no fire, than there so far as keeping warm concerned me. We had a large fire & roasted one side while we froze on the other." However, slave cabins were better than the alternative, Hitchcock reluctantly admitted, as "some of the Posts had no fire & most of them no shelter but Pine boughs."[118] Southern soldiers also reported taking shelter in slave cabins; on a frigid night in January 1865, Virginia soldier Creed Davis did not relish the thought of sleeping in "a miserable, filthy, unoccupied negro cabin" as "chinches and fleas may be seen by the light of the fire crawling, and jumping about the floor." He would have preferred to sleep outside, but "the weather is threatening rain or snow."[119]

Figure 2.5. A. W. Warren, *Before Petersburg – Winter Quarters from the Plantation*, *Harper's Weekly*, February 25, 1865, 113. Periodicals Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

Neither the northern nor the southern soldiers who mentioned occupying slave cabins while on the move expressed a reluctance to do so because these structures housed slaves; for the most part, soldiers were concerned only with protecting themselves from the weather and from gunfire. Some troops did not seek shelter in the slave quarters but brought the quarters to them, transporting entire buildings to their camps to save themselves the time and labor of building houses from scratch. In the fall of 1863, a southern journalist traveling around Virginia reported that the Yankees "had destroyed nearly everything. The palace and the negro quarter are torn from their foundations to furnish material for their winter quarters."[120] This process is depicted in *Before Petersburg – Winter Quarters from the Plantation*, an illustration by A. W. Warren that appeared in a February 1865 issue of *Harper's Weekly* (see fig. 2.5). In the scene, Union soldiers have loaded a small derelict building onto a wagon for transportation into camp. The frame construction and a full-size window (revealed as the wagon tips to the side along a rutted path through the Virginia forest) suggest that it is a slave cabin. This use of slave cabins in battle or camp did not excite much commentary among northern or southern soldiers or in the press; it was a military necessity to appropriate buildings

for the use of soldiers in battle, on the march, or in camp. When Union soldiers invaded, pillaged, or destroyed slave cabins, however, they provoked a variety of responses that suggest that the right to privacy was not limited to Americans who were white and free.

Despite their distance from Big Houses, slave quarters often caught fire when Union soldiers burned down planters' residences and outbuildings; at other times, northern soldiers deliberately razed slave quarters. Georgia lieutenant Theodorick Montfort witnessed "the burning of the dwelling & negro houses of Dr. Screvens on Wilmington Island" in March 1862. This act of "wanton destruction" made him indignant, and he was impatient for Confederate commanders to do "something to prevent these outrages upon our soil."[121] It is difficult to determine whether the deliberate ruination of slave cabins was meant as a political statement against slavery or as another strike against southern plantation owners' economic power. Northern soldiers rarely mentioned their destruction of slave quarters specifically or their reasons for doing so, but slave cabins clearly served as "the most physical sign of American slavery," a material representation of bondage on southern plantations.[122] They were understood to be a "public index of a planter's wealth and a proof of his or her right to be trusted with deference," and most northerners believed that any structure or material object found on the plantation belonged to the white master and not to his slaves.[123] It is therefore likely that the northern soldiers who burned or otherwise ruined slave cabins did so to destroy planters' socioeconomic power, just as Union troops burned or looted the Big Houses that stood nearby. It is also probable that many southerners understood that this was the purpose of such acts of "wanton destruction"; it is difficult to imagine that Montfort was so outraged on behalf of Screvens's slaves.

However, the angry debates regarding the ransacking of slave quarters and the reactions of both white and black southerners to these home invasions suggest a more complex understanding of the rights of property ownership and privacy within the southern landscape of slavery. Many southerners not only narrated the plundering of their houses and those of their neighbors but also noted that the Yankees "robbed the servants of their provisions & clothes."[124] J. M. Forbes reported that during the raid on his plantation, Union soldiers attempted to "induce the remaining servants to leave the farm and go off with them"; when they refused, the

northerners "treated [the slaves] as they had treated their master – destroying their furniture, ripping open their beds, carrying off the corn which had been left for their support, &c."[125] When Sherman's troops marched through her plantation yard on November 19, 1864, Dolly Lunt Burge listed her own losses – "the thousand pounds of meat in my smoke-house is gone in a twinkling" – before turning her attention to the slave quarters. "Their cabins are rifled of every valuable," she wrote. "Poor Frank's chest was broken open, his money and tobacco taken. . . . All of his clothes and Rachel's clothes, which dear Lou gave her before her death and which she had packed away, were stolen from her."[126] White southerners listed their vanished goods not only to shock their friends and family members with the immensity of their loss but also to keep a record in the event that they could file claims and recover the value of their property. When they listed the possessions that their slaves lost in these raids, however, they meant to expose another savage practice of Union soldiers – that they would stoop to stealing a poor slave's clothes.[127]

Northern soldiers who ransacked slave cabins were clearly uncivilized; they were also hypocrites. As Federal troops entered Columbia, South Carolina, Sophie Sosnowski, a teacher at nearby Barhamville's Female Collegiate Academy, decided to hide a box of silver and other valuables among a house slave's clothes. "For, thought we, would these great Champions of liberty these advocates of general emancipation touch the Negro trunks or chests?," she wrote indignantly. "Oh no, that would have been too flagrant a contradiction to their philanthropy!" When "the marauders" arrived at the academy grounds the next day, however, they "went into the houses of the poor Negroes, and tore their bundles, even broke up boxes, and thus unfortunately our box with silver and many old relics, fell into the hands of these Vandals."[128] Sosnowski's sarcastic contention that Union soldiers were undermining their self-proclaimed status as emancipators was a common assertion among southern observers and a central point in the southern discourse of civilized warfare. In this view, soldiers who invaded slaves' domestic spaces revealed that the Union's goal in the war was not to free oppressed people but to further oppress them. This turnabout nicely suited slave owners, who denigrated northern soldiers even more vociferously and claimed the moral high ground of paternalism.

These arguments also suggested, however, that slave cabins were separate domestic spaces and that slaves had unacknowledged and extralegal rights to their privacy and possessions in those spaces. Within the plantation, slave cabins were part of both the white landscape of the Big House and the black landscape of the quarter. The cabins may have belonged to masters, but they were also part of "private landscape[s] of personal life and prerogative."[129] Some slaves secured their cabins with locks and keys, asserting "their right to personal space and property."[130] Most slaves had few belongings, but many had some. American slaves typically bought and traded a variety of goods, with the number of opportunities to do so expanding significantly during the first half of the nineteenth century. Slaves often owned personal items such as clothing, some furniture, and wagons in addition to crops grown in garden plots. Some slaves also accumulated household goods, transforming their cabins into homes by building or buying tables and cupboards, collecting crockery, and hanging pictures.[131] Excavations of slave cabin sites and holes in the walls of extant cabins reveal that some slaves may have built shelves to hold or hide objects such as mirrors and musical instruments. Both the acquisition of goods and the desire to display them suggests a sense of ownership – even of pride, perhaps – in these domestic spaces.[132]

This sense of ownership is also reflected in some slaves' attempts to hide their possessions from approaching Union soldiers. In an account of the burning of Columbia, Mrs. Campbell Bryce noted that two slave women "had tried in vain to conceal their belongings. In vain they buried their prized pieces of china, and their looking-glasses." Mary Whilden remembered that "in many instances our servants brought their treasures" to her so that she could find a safe place for them.[133] Some slaves clearly saw the pillaging of their own homes and the homes of their masters as violations of propriety and privacy. Former slave Heddie Davis described Union soldiers who "trolled round big ike fashion, a bustin' in rooms widout knockin'" and concluded that Yankees "was de worst people dere ever was."[134] In North Carolina, Fannie Dunn complained that "one Yankee woul come along an' give us sumptin' an' another would come on behind him an' tak it."[135] Many slaves asked for vouchers while soldiers raided their cabins, "intending to request reimbursement once they had an opportunity." Such requests and the fact that former slaves filed nearly

five hundred claims with the Southern Claims Commission in 1871 reveal that many slaves believed that these objects were their property and that they were thus eligible for compensation.[136]

Slaves also appropriated the property of their former masters during the chaos of battle and occupation. When southerners abandoned their houses – in cities or on plantations – at the approach of Union soldiers, they often left behind their slaves. In 1862, Wilder Dwight reported that on a plantation outside Winchester, "all the negro servants were left in charge of the other property. This leaving one kind of property in possession of another kind of property hath in it a certain logical and natural inconsistency which doth not fail to show itself in the practical result." The former slave in charge gave away all of his provisions and let Union soldiers into the house, claiming that "Massa is a very hospitable man." Dwight was delighted. "So the negro makes free with his fellow property," he wrote, "with every right of succession and enjoyment that belongs to a next of kin."[137] White southerners, of course, were outraged. For as much as they might have previously allowed or ignored the accumulation of purchased, bartered, or built items in the slave quarters, they believed their personal possessions to be off-limits to their chattel. They were shocked, then, when slaves swarmed through abandoned Big Houses with as little restraint as Union soldiers. South Carolinian Myrta Lockett Avary reported with horror that Thomas Pinckney's slaves stripped his plantation house on the Santee River of "furniture, bric-a-brac, heirloom[s], and divided these among themselves. They got it in their heads that the property of whites belongs to them; and went about taking possession with utmost determination and insolence."[138] For some slaves, claiming their owners' property as their own was an act of empowerment that undermined the slave system and white patriarchy. The fury with which southern whites responded to these acts suggests that in fact it was.

Some slaves remained in their dwellings or their masters' abandoned houses, but many gathered up what goods they could carry (both their own and their masters') and followed Union soldiers on their marches or built houses in contraband camps such as Hampton, Virginia. Wisconsin soldier S. G. Bundy remembered that slaves flocked to the Seventeenth Corps as the men marched through South Carolina. On one plantation, "several in a great hurry were hitching up mules to carts and even

carriages; gathering up every available thing that could be taken."[139] The massive movement of tens of thousands of slaves bearing wagonloads of possessions from plantations to the Union lines during the war reveals not only slaves' perceptions of their right to household possessions but also a willingness to abandon domestic property to achieve freedom. As many written accounts and Edwin Forbes's sketch reveal, many slaves showed little compunction about leaving the plantations on which they had lived their entire lives. Such actions suggest that they believed that their houses and other parts of the slave landscape belonged not to them but to their masters. As such, the quarter and its cabins represented the oppression of slavery and a life of painful exploitation. By forsaking these domestic spaces of enslavement, they abandoned their status as slaves.[140]

Whether they left or stayed and took as their own the architectural markers of slavery, freed people across the South used domestic architecture and objects to make statements about their status and to help them make a better life. When Frederick Law Olmsted toured the South during the 1850s, one Louisiana slave told him, "If I was free, mass; *if I was free*, . . . I would go to work for a year, and get some money for myself, den – den – den – den, massa, dis is what I do – I buy me, fus place, a little house, and a little lot of land."[141] For many slaves, architecture was agency. As the fugitive slaves building their houses from Hampton's ruins demonstrated, freedom meant the ability to construct one's own future and protect one's family; thus, many former slaves appropriated plantation buildings and laid claim to its landscape to assert and protect their newfound liberties. In 1867, a group of Richmond freedmen dismantled a slave-trading pen on Fifteenth Street and rebuilt it as a school; on one Georgia plantation, former slaves used boards from the slave quarters to build new clusters of homes scattered across the fields and in the woods.[142] Creating these domestic spaces out of the ruins of slavery and accumulating furniture, mattresses, artwork, and other objects to fill them were marks of freedom. These domestic acts gave former slaves the opportunity to assert their dignity. The single-family home became such an icon within the African American community in the years after the war that domestic architecture and homemaking were required courses at many black colleges, including the Hampton Institute, founded in 1868 on land across the creek from the town ruins.[143] For many former slaves,

however, personal property losses sustained during Union plantation raids brought economic ruin at the moment of freedom. During the Civil War, the slave cabin in ruins represented the death of slavery in the South as well as the complex and often bittersweet experiences of emancipation during the Civil War.

Reconstructing Southern Homes

The domestic ruins of the South, just like the rubble of its cities, did not last long. As former slaves began constructing lives and homes in freedom, they often worked for their previous owners and other neighborhood whites, rebuilding Big Houses on plantations and commercial buildings in towns and cities. In mid-May 1865, Wade Hampton visited the ruins of Millwood and his other family properties in Columbia; he then contracted with white carpenters and several freedmen to rebuild Millwood and to construct a small house on Diamond Hill. The reconstruction of Millwood never came to fruition, but as Columbia resident Myrta Lockett Avary reported, Hampton, who was "clever at wood-work, built with his own hands" a cottage for his family "on the ruins of his handsome home which Sherman burned."[144] Returning Confederate soldiers often came home to find that little remained of their former lives, and as Hampton's failed plans for Millwood attest, funds were often scarce and bankruptcy prevalent in the years after the war. After Union soldiers and some slaves had burned and looted houses and then departed, southerners often turned to looting each other's debris-strewn houses, absorbing the fragments of their neighbors' lives and coffers into makeshift households. Almost immediately after Sherman's troops evacuated the partially destroyed city of Atlanta in November 1864, ten-year-old Carrie Berry observed that "the town is full of country people seeing what they can find. We have ben picking up some things." The next day, her parents sent Berry and the other children "plundering about," "seeing what we could find." This hometown foraging continued for a week, and Berry reported that for two consecutive days, "We have all ben picking up nails to day and we are all about tired down."[145]

This pillaging of neighbors' belongings could fund or support attempts to rebuild lives, as it did for the Berrys. But for the victims of this looting,

such acts were obviously problematic. Atlanta resident J. E. Parrott, who had fled to Louisville in August 1864 when the shot and shell began to fall in his home city, arrived back at the family homestead a year later and found "one Mr. Smith in Ma's house, ie in that part of it that was left by Gen. Sherman." The house was a shambles. "The Kitchen is out on a visit," he wrote, "& I have no idea will ever return." In addition, "5 large shells paid their compliments to the little house," and "what shells failed to do the people done the rest. stole the sash out of the windows in front room, & took down the middle doores, & like the Kitchen are out swinging around, & creaking about – but will not be apt to swing this way soon." Walking around on crushed glass and surveying the rubble, Parrott declared, "It was a great wonder to me that any part of it was left standing." But he set to work and within ten days had installed new window glass and sashes and had converted the cellar into a workable kitchen with a new stove. He was optimistic about his ability to rebuild the entire house, concluding, "I have seen a tight old time but the good time will come, yet, I hope."[146]

Many wealthy southerners who lost their homes were forced to downgrade from handsome mansions to cottages. One northern tourist traveling through Virginia in 1875 observed that near Petersburg had been "situated some of the finest residences in the country, but at the time of the war these were all destroyed." In their place were "buildings all of logs and some of them occupied by the same planters that had such elegant residences before." He was not impressed by what he saw and noted that in Yorktown and some other places, "not a house has been built here since the war."[147] Many white southerners, unable to face the ruins of their homes and the difficulty of reestablishing themselves, sold their property and moved on, building new lives elsewhere in the South or the Southwest. Virginia planter John Armistead Selden left Westover, his plantation along the James River, even before the war was over. When Union general George McClellan's troops landed there at the beginning of the Peninsula campaign in May 1862, Selden fled to another of his properties in Amelia Springs. He returned to Westover in September to find the "plantation swept of everything" and "the Estate entirely ruined [so I] should not have known it." Selden sold it the next day "to Messrs. Elliott & Drewry of Richmond for the sum of fifty thousand dollars cash, fifteen

thousand less than I had been offered for it before the war." He estimated his loss to be at least five thousand dollars.[148]

It is impossible to determine from anecdotal, military, or government documentary evidence exactly how many southern homes – from planters' mansions to the cabins of poor whites to slave quarters – and/or their contents were destroyed during wartime battles and through raiding. Some southern citizens may have grossly exaggerated the extent of domestic destruction.[149] However, the twenty-two thousand property claims filed by white and black southerners who felt they could prove their Unionist sympathies (surely a small percentage of southerners who experienced ruination on the home front) suggests that the number of people across the South whose homes were destroyed or plundered in some manner might be much higher than historians have previously believed. Those former Confederates who were unable to make claims for property compensation or apply for pension benefits turned their attention to rebuilding and to shaping the collective memory of the war.[150]

When they contemplated the damage that war had brought to domestic landscapes across the South, white southerners began to develop a narrative that cast these ruins in a melancholic glow and that continued the work of demonizing northern soldiers and aggrandizing southern patriotism. In an 1864 editorial lauding "Glorious Old Virginia!," the editors of the *Montgomery Mail* found hope among the ashes, for "everywhere we see in the midst of ruin and devastation the spirit unbroken, and the determination to be free unchanged."[151] The South's domestic spaces might be shattered, this narrative suggests, but its inhabitants would stand among the rubble and stare back at the "Vandal foe," ready to continue the fight. By October 1864, although the "fire of the battlefield" had marred Virginia's landscape, the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* compared it and the Confederacy to a singed cat: "She is better than she looks."[152] The idea that the times that try men's souls only make them stronger and more sure in their convictions became the dominant theme in the Lost Cause narrative; it was symbolized by the lone chimneys of the South's domestic ruins.

In the years after the war, this connection between ruined homes and the Lost Cause became even stronger. The literal reconstruction of the South went hand-in-hand with the worship of lost domestic spaces. As

South Carolinian Margaret Crawford Adams wrote, "We have rebuilt on the ruins of our buried hopes. The lava of time encrusts the past. We poor 'Rebels' have found new homes, new hopes, and we strive to forget the bitterness of defeat. But memory often carries us back over the bloody chasm to that other life, to commune in those then happy homes with loved ones now absent and dead."[153] From their newly constructed hearths, Adams and many other white southerners could not help but think back on those "happy homes" of the past, the sacred spaces that been invaded and then ruined by Union soldiers. The "bloody chasm" between the present and the past was not only horrifying but also comforting. The domestic ruins of the Lost Cause symbolized all that was heartening to southerners in defeat: pride, patriotism, and gentility, especially of southern white women, and the cowardice, hypocrisy, and savagery of Union soldiers. This focus on the destruction of southern homes and the victimization of southern women "further obscured the central place of slavery in the Confederate cause."[154] When slaves appeared at all in the narrative landscape of domestic ruin, they were always loyal to their masters and mistresses and were victims of Union destruction and looting. Late-nineteenth-century white southerners writing short stories, novels, and memoirs picked up these themes and used them to create compelling stories of adventure and mayhem with plucky southern heroines at their center.

One such novel is William Henry Peck's *The M'Donalds; or, The Ashes of Southern Homes: A Tale of Sherman's March* (1867), whose plot and characterization enact and promote these connections in southern Civil War memory. The protagonists of the novel, Mrs. Preston M'Donald and her daughter, Myrtis, are "types of those noble women, the matron and the maiden of the South, whose patriotic fortitude and sacrifice will form themes for the poet and the orator while the memory of the war remains upon the pages of history."[155] In the novel, Union troops pursue these noble women from their plantation in northern Georgia to their house in Atlanta, then on to friends' residences in rural South Carolina and ultimately Columbia, kicking down doors and burning roofs at every turn. These continuous acts of domestic ruination are both symbolic moments in the text and plot points that keep the heroines moving along to other wartime cities and other confrontations with the savage Yankees.

The evil of the Federals is embodied in Seth Cashmore, a rapacious sutler who wants to marry Myrtis and attain the genteel status of the M'Donald family. He is so intent on looting a burning mansion in Columbia, however, that he dashes into its attic and dies trying to escape; he ends up caught in a window curtain and is simultaneously burned to death and hanged: "His bones and flesh went to swell that great heap of the ashes of Southern homes which he had been a very demon in aiding to make."[156] In this version of the Civil War's history, the northern "Vandal" dies in the ashes of southern homes while the members of the gallant southern family survive the war and rebuild their lives. Myrtis marries a valiant and eight-time wounded Confederate veteran, and the reader leaves them happily farming their land, proving that "ere from those sad relics, the ashes of Southern homes, greatness and happiness can spring to efface the remembrance of 'Sherman's grand march.'"[157] At the end of the novel, the M'Donald women stand in their fields, the physical embodiment of lone chimneys and the symbols of southern survival.

Whether they were ruined in battle, for retaliation or revenge, for punishment or pleasure, the South's domestic ruins were new and compelling elements of the landscape of war between 1861 and 1865. For some southern whites, this destruction and looting represented the ultimate invasion of privacy and a gendered attack on a space previously sanctified but rendered profane by the exigencies of warfare. For others, domestic ruins signaled a morally disastrous turn in the conduct of the war, as soldiers violently confronted southern civilians and destroyed their prized possessions. Slaves probably watched their masters' houses burn with some ambivalence; on the one hand, the ruination of their masters' property must have given them a sense of grim satisfaction and retributive justice. On the other hand, they had helped to build those houses and had domesticated their own. In this context, the burning and pillaging of slave cabins must have been a horrifying revelation and a great disappointment. In the end, domestic ruins were recycled and rebuilt, and the lone chimneys of the South – "Sherman's Sentinels" – became the central icons in the Lost Cause narrative. These figurative ruins long outlasted their material counterparts and focused the memory of the war on the assault on the southern home, with its innocent, strong white women and its loyal slaves standing

on the piazza, defending their "inner sanctums" and then rebuilding them together when they fall. The power of this image and the ability of the Lost Cause narrative to dominate the memory of the war was the revenge that so many southern white women had dreamed about achieving as they sat on their beds, clutching daguerreotypes of dead husbands to their chests and cursing the Vandal foe.

For soldiers on both sides, however, destroying southern homes was not a matter of battlefield tactics or politics or power or retaliation; it was a matter of protection from the elements. Another reason that houses were ruined in such great numbers during the war was because in them both Union and Confederate soldiers found the materials to build homes in camp. They ripped the boards from the floors, walls, and roofs of southern houses and used them to construct one-room cabins in wartime villages that these men learned to call home. That they would build and seek to domesticate these structures, sometimes turning to existing buildings for construction materials, points to another kind of ruination that warfare brought to the southern landscape: the destruction of its pine, chestnut, and oak forests.

THREE

Battle Logs

Ruined Forests

Harper's Pictorial History of the War (1866) contains a two-page illustration of the deserted winter encampment of Confederate soldiers serving under General Braxton Bragg in Tennessee (see fig. 3.1). The timber used to construct the huts has disappeared, either burned or scavenged by soldiers or locals; nothing is left but a huddled group of chimneys, eerily reminiscent of the "ashes of southern homes" that littered the landscape of war. That same year, behind the former Union lines at Petersburg, Virginia, stood the empty winter quarters of the Sixth Corps. J. T. Trowbridge pronounced it "one of the most beautiful villages that ever were seen. It was sheltered by a grove of murmuring pines. An arched gateway admitted us to its silent streets. It was constructed entirely of pine saplings and logs." As he ambled along the corduroyed sidewalks and peered into huts that contained bedrooms and mantel pieces, Trowbridge marveled at the columns formed of single trunks and fluted pilasters created out of "clusters of saplings,—all with the bark on, of course."[1] Like Bragg's deserted camp, the Sixth Corps's village had become a Civil War ghost town, an

Figure 3.1. *The Appearance of Bragg's Deserted Encampment*, 1862, in *Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion* (New York: Harper, 1866): 323. Illustrated Periodicals Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

emblem of the war's dual processes of destruction and creation and its reliance on natural resources.

As massive armies marched, camped, and fought between 1861 and 1865, soldiers consumed vast quantities of wood culled from the South's forests and woodlots. They cut down trees to make fires, light their way during night marches, build their winter huts, and construct roads, bridges, and fortifications. As a result, troops transformed huge swaths of the South's forests into landscapes of stumps. In battle, soldiers hit as many trees as men (sometimes more) with gun and cannon fire, creating "ghost forests" on battlefields.[2] Both Union and Confederate soldiers converted forests into ruins, and like cities and houses, shattered trees provoked discussions and debates about the nature of warfare, but these debates had a different focus. Some soldiers and civilians expressed regret when they viewed the ruined forests around them, but most observers admired the ways that the war's technologies both destroyed landscapes and created new ones. The ruination of forests created novel scenes – camps that displayed soldiers' architectural ingenuity and acres of wounded trees – that evidenced the war's technological advances and their transformation of the South's natural environment.[3]

On the March

Moving hundreds of thousands of men through southern landscapes was no easy feat. Union and Confederate armies were in almost constant

motion for nine months out of the year, packing up and transporting themselves, their kits, and their animals as little as half a mile or as much as twenty-five miles a day. They marched at dawn, during the heat of the day, at dusk, and in the pitch-black early morning. They climbed steep mountains and rocky outcroppings, slogged through swamps, crossed rolling hills and churning rivers, and hacked their way through dense forests. Sometimes, they were pursued; other times, they were the pursuers. Often they had roads to follow, but even then the dirt lanes of the rural South, built to accommodate single teams of horses and wagons, could not contain the vast numbers of troops. Soldiers fanned out along roadsides and into fields and woodlots. Where no roads existed, soldiers made them. On the march, soldiers cut down trees to clear their paths, obstruct the enemy's routes, and light their way. They also felled trees to build the landscape of war transportation – the bridges and corduroy roads that were vital elements of the wartime infrastructure. Although much of this work was done by "pioneer corps," divisions of the Corps of Engineers dedicated specifically to harvesting and building with wood, both Union and Confederate soldiers were often detailed to complete such work on the march, and all of them witnessed (and used and benefited from) the results.

Marching through woods was slow going. As Lisa Brady has noted, "Terrain and vegetation could . . . impede strategic, operational, and tactical goals." Around the city of Vicksburg, Mississippi, for example, much of the surrounding landscape "had long ago been cleared of its thick forest and vegetation for planting, but plenty of tree cover remained." This tree cover provided shade and protection in the event of a surprise attack but for the most part "proved to be an impediment."[4] Most soldiers on both sides of the conflict experienced the obstructive nature of the South's thick woodlands. At two o'clock on the morning on April 24, 1862, Charles August Henninghausen of the Fifteenth Virginia Volunteers set out with his comrades on a night march through the woods of the Virginia Peninsula: "Took 3 hours for the 3 miles."[5] In this area of Virginia, part of the southern coastal plain, Henninghausen would have been walking through a wood of mixed oak, hickory, and pine; the underbrush would have been somewhat thick but not entangled.[6] It is unclear whether Henninghausen's regiment was following a road, a cattle path, or the stars; in any case,

wood debris, tree limbs, or even entire trees might have fallen across their path as a result of high winds, lightning strikes, or tree girdling (a process many southern farmers and slaves used to deaden trees for removal).[7] Soldiers often stopped in the middle of the march to pick up and throw aside small twigs or limbs, clambering over trunks or boughs too large to move. Such obstructions meant that like Henninghausen's regiment, soldiers generally could move only at the rate of about one mile per hour.[8]

To deal with such obstructions in pathways and roadsides, officers dispatched pioneer corps to cut trees. These regiments were separate from regular and volunteer engineer troops and were recruited out of and detached from the ranks and set to work clearing fallen trees, building roads, and constructing fortifications. Army officers initially formed pioneer corps spontaneously, as needed. By 1863, however, Robert E. Lee had established a pioneer company for each division of the Army of Northern Virginia, and Union general George Meade had "imposed a uniform organization on the pioneer detachments" of the Union Army, ordering each brigade commander to "create one if they had not already" and to staff it with officers.[9] Pioneer corps members were often newcomers to the South's forests, although in Tennessee, General William Rosecrans ordered that his new thousand-man pioneer brigade would be made up of mechanics and other skilled workers.[10]

However, manpower was always an issue in both the Union and Confederate Armies, and many officers felt that soldiers could not be spared for such duties. As a result, beginning in 1863, African American troops increasingly served in Union pioneer brigades. In Special Field Order No. 120, issued at Kingston, Georgia, on November 9, 1864, William Tecumseh Sherman called for the creation of a pioneer corps "composed if possible of negroes."[11] As Sherman's two columns marched through Georgia, slaves from surrounding plantations flocked to the marching army; using these refugees as a pioneer corps was Sherman's strategy for integrating these camp followers and exploiting their labor for the Union cause. Thomas Osborn, a Union soldier marching with Sherman, noted in February 1865 that "our superior pioneer organization is of great value to us now. It is composed mostly of negroes and is probably superior to that of any other Army."[12] This organizational and segregationist tactic prompted many protests from black soldiers, who felt they were "little

better than an armed band of laborers with rusty muskets and bright spades."[13] Even when black soldiers took up arms instead of axes, construction work awaited them when they staggered into camp after skirmishes and battles. The Confederate Army similarly turned to southern slaves, who had years of experience cutting and girdling trees to clear land for tobacco, rice, and cotton plantations. Officials either hired or confiscated slaves to work in pioneer corps on behalf of the Confederacy. In addition, much of the discussion regarding the recruitment of black soldiers into the Confederate Army in the winter of 1864–65 included arguments for their use as pioneers.[14]

The work of the pioneer corps for both the Union and the Confederate war efforts was sometimes divisive and always dangerous; these men often came under fire as they worked at the front or the rear of marching armies. But their labor was indispensible to the war effort on both sides. As they worked to clear the way for their fellow soldiers, pioneers also worked to obstruct the enemy's path. When armies retreated from battle, pioneers were moved to the back of the column and ordered to fell timber to block the way, slowing down pursuers, who were often on horseback. In the wake of one of the war's first engagements at Laurel Hill in July 1861, Confederate brigadier general Robert S. Garnett retreated from Union forces under George B. McClellan, ordering his officers to "cut down trees to block up the road in front of you. If you are forced back, block up the road as you go and defend every inch of it." As an afterthought, Garnett considered a potential problem with this plan: "If you have not axes enough to block up the road with, send down to Beverly for them."[15] Despite its potential provisioning problems, this kind of defensive strategy was quick and easy; pioneers needed only to swing an axe a couple of times, aim the falling tree toward the road, and make sure that their comrades were out of the way. A pile of four or five downed trees could significantly slow horses and men, especially if thick woods on both sides of the road prevented speedy detours. Because of this strategy's usefulness and its efficiency, both Confederate and Union soldiers obstructed roads in this way throughout the war and in every theater.[16]

Dirt roads were not the only thoroughfares that became sites of wooded obstruction during the war. In an effort to prevent Union warships and ironclads from entering rivers throughout the South, Confederate soldiers,

white civilians, and slaves cut trees and threw them into the local waterways.[17] In May 1862, for example, during the Confederate evacuation of Pensacola, Colonel Thomas Jones of the Twenty-Seventh Mississippi Infantry sent "the steamboat *Turel*, which we had been using as a transport," up the Escambia River in northwest Florida "with orders to cut down trees and place every obstruction possible in the river behind her." The wood-choked river would stymie Union gunboats and protect Confederate soldiers and sailors retreating into Alabama.[18] This strategy was effective, especially in the Gulf states, where Union boats were trying to make inroads into the South's major river and stream systems as part of General Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan. Outside Vicksburg, the last city on the Mississippi River still in Confederate hands in the spring of 1863, Union soldiers were impressed with the size of the trees they found blocking Yazoo Pass. On April 9, 1863, Lieutenant J. H. Wilson wrote to the chief engineer of the U.S. Army, Joseph G. Totten, that, "the forest being very dense and growth luxuriant, the trees were of the largest and heaviest kinds. Cottonwood, Sycamore, Oak, elm & pecan prevailing." These trees, some of them four feet in diameter and more than ten feet long, "rendered the barricade of no trifling matter."[19] Such obstructions – and the clear-cut acres that supplied them – became signature elements of the landscape of war.

When they were forced to march or retreat at night, Civil War soldiers found other uses for roadside trees. Daniel Oakey, a Union soldier with Sherman's army as it moved from Georgia up through South Carolina into North Carolina in the spring of 1865, described the conversion of trees into torches: "All traces of habitation were left behind, as we marched into that grand forest. . . . As night came on, we found that the resinous sap in the cavities cut into the trees to receive it had been lighted by 'bummers' in our advance. The effect of these peculiar watch-fires on every side, several feet above the ground, with flames licking their way up the tall trunks, was peculiarly striking and beautiful."[20] Resin, a flammable secretion of coniferous trees like the longleaf pines common in the southeastern coastal plain, was a common product of the naval stores industry in the antebellum North and South.[21] Many of the members of the pioneer corps had backgrounds in logging and naval stores production, so they would have known that the resin flow from these North Carolina

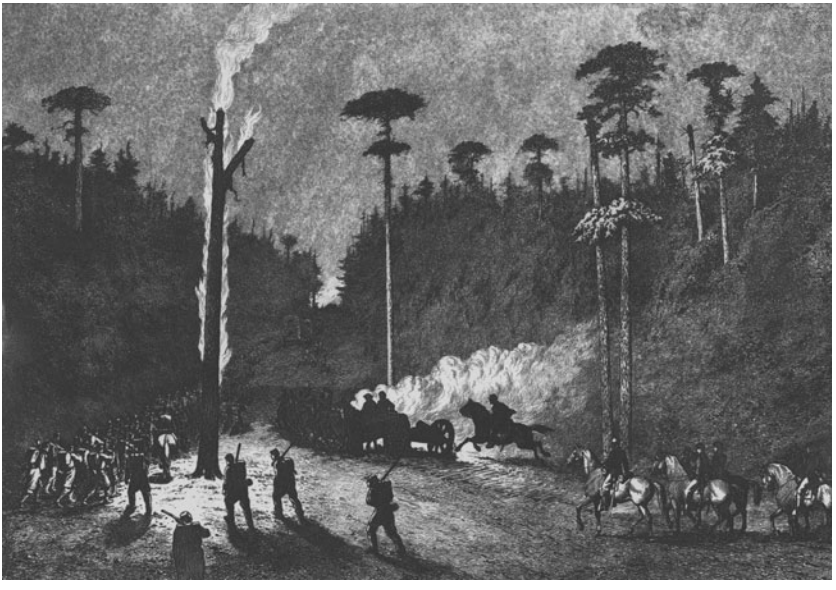

Figure 3.2. Edwin Forbes, *A Night March*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]), plate 16. Map Room, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

trees would burn brightly and long enough to illuminate the road on a night march. It is unclear from Oakey's description whether the V-shaped "cavities cut into the trees to receive" the sap had been cut by southern civilians or whether the bummers (groups of foragers often absorbed into pioneer corps) had notched the trees before setting the sap on fire.

These massive roadside torches also fascinated *Harper's Weekly* artist Edwin Forbes. In 1863, he sketched the march of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac as the soldiers moved north toward Gettysburg under General John Reynolds. In the illustration, the soldiers march up a road away from the viewer, the road lit by a burning tree. Forbes clearly found this image unforgettable, as he included a more refined version in his collection of etchings, *Life Studies of the Great Army* (1863) (see fig. 3.2). This image indicates, however, that there is a cost to such tree use that belies the beauty of the scene: the torch tree, throwing off sparks, has set fire to the roadside grasses and underbrush on the opposite side of the

road. Forbes does not depict the result of this small conflagration, but forest fires were common occurrences on the march, in camp, and in battle. As Union cavalryman William Pritchard noted during his march through South Carolina with Sherman, soldiers often set fire to fences, which "burned for miles without going out"; as a result, "the roads catch fire; the grass in the fields catches fire, and everything burns up. . . . Even large trees catch on fire." Although the fires meant that Pritchard's feet would stay warm on the march, he "sometimes thought that the very Devil was in the elements."[22] Making "watch-fires" out of roadside trees and fences sparked larger forest fires that led to the destruction of many southern woodlands.

As armies trod along, day and night, pioneer and engineering corps were often called up to repair or create bridges and roads. Some southern bridges were destroyed when storm-related flooding swept them away, and others broke from overuse as part of the wartime transportation network.[23] But other forms of bridge destruction were more deliberate. Just as they threw trees into roads and rivers, Civil War soldiers burned bridges to obstruct the enemy's pursuit. Most bridges, especially those in rural areas, were built of wood; to get the fire going, soldiers covered the bridges with the most common and handy material in the landscape. As Second Massachusetts officer Wilder Dwight noted in 1862, "The rebels have the bridge that crosses the Shenandoah full of brush and combustibles ready to burn when we press them."[24] Major armies in the field surged back and forth across the Southeast, sometimes fighting over the same ground multiple times, and individual bridges were often burned and rebuilt several times over.

Some bridges were built from scratch. Virginia alone has 5 major drainage basins and more than 230 rivers and creeks; some of these waterways could be forded during drought periods or low water, but most necessitated bridge crossings. Both Union and Confederate troops not only made extensive use of pontoon boats (wooden boats that floated on the water and supported a "road" of wood planks) to cross wider rivers such as the James and the Rappahannock but also built wooden surfaces on existing stone foundations to traverse smaller watercourses. Each army's corps of engineers, aided by pioneer brigades, built these structures. Timothy O'Sullivan, a Union photographer with Mathew Brady's studio, captured

Figure 3.3. Timothy O'Sullivan, *Fauquier Sulphur Springs, Va., Vicinity: Troops Building Bridges across the North Fork of the Rappahannock*, August 1862. Civil War Glass Negatives Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

this building process in Fauquier Sulphur Springs, Virginia, as members of the Army of the Potomac's Corps of Engineers rebuilt a bridge across the North Fork of the Rappahannock River in 1862 (see fig. 3.3). The men use a pulley system to lower the logs into place on a support foundation also built of wood. The logs look like they still have their bark, meaning that they were cut in the forest and hauled directly to the bridge site. Such was the case in most bridge construction projects, as soldiers on both sides usually burned sawmills to prevent them from falling into enemy hands. During the spring 1864 campaign, however, as Union soldiers under Ulysses S. Grant moved south to the North Anna River, they found a usable mill. Charles Coffin, a northern observer, described the scene: "Timber was wanted for the construction of a bridge. [The] mill was out of repair, but there were men in the Union army accustomed to run saw-mills,

and an hour was sufficient to put the machinery in order for the manufacture of lumber. It was amusing to see the soldiers lay down their guns, take up the crowbar, roll the logs into the mill, adjust the saw, hoist the gate, and sit upon the log while the saw was cutting its way. The owner of the mill looked on in disgust, as his lumber was thus freely handled."[25]

As Coffin's story attests, Union troops could fix logging machinery and convert mills in the South to their own use. The 1840 census counted 22,042 American men who identified themselves as timber workers. This number constitutes a small fraction of the country's male population of over 17,000,000, but most of these timbermen were probably of fighting age and may well have served in the northern and southern armies.[26] A critical mass of southern timber workers likely lent their experiences to engineer and pioneer corps as well; although sawmills in the United States in 1840 were concentrated in the northern states, the southern port cities of Norfolk, Charleston, Wilmington, and New Bern employed the highest number of sawmill workers (1,420) in the United States, on par with parts of Maine and Upstate New York.[27]

These experienced timber workers, in cooperation with members of the pioneer corps, cut vast acreages of timber to build some of the most impressive examples of transportation infrastructure in the nation at that time. Joel Cook, a Philadelphia journalist traveling with the Army of the Potomac during the 1862 Peninsula campaign, looked with awe upon the Woodbury Bridge, a mile-long structure composed of a roadway and a two-hundred-yard long and fifteen-foot wide bridge surface spanning the Chickahominy River. The bridge, he wrote, "is firm and solid as a rock. Piles, beams, and braces, all of rough hewn timber, support a corduroy roadway which is capable of bearing the heaviest burdens."[28] The Woodbury bridge span alone likely required around nine thousand board feet of lumber. At three hundred board feet per mature tree, this bridge span would have required soldiers to cut at least thirty trees, or about half an acre of woodland. The construction of bridges was an almost daily activity for pioneer corps while armies were on the march or in retreat. They burned and rebuilt bridges and constructed entirely new spans as the situation warranted, and in so doing they felled thousands of acres of trees throughout the South. As they destroyed southern forests, they created one of the largest military infrastructures in the world, helping to keep these armies marching across the southern landscape.

Even more common than bridge building was road building, which engineer and pioneer corps did to move men, horses, and wagons more efficiently through the South's dense forests and tangled swamps. Soldiers also built roads to combat the element of the southern landscape about which all men (but especially northerners) complained the most: the mud. Private Charles McClenthen of the Twenty-Sixth New York Volunteers, who published books about his experiences while serving in the army (and sold them to his comrades eager for reading material), wrote a typical description of what northern soldiers referred to sarcastically as "the sacred soil of Virginia": "The soil through this section is a light sandy loam which, when wet with slight rains makes very good wheeling for light vehicles, but affords no sufficient bottom for the heavy laden supply-trains, ammunition wagons and artillery, which sank almost to their axles in the occasional quicksand along the narrow and crooked road, cut in many places through a dense thicket or undergrowth of young pines." The situation was especially bad when it rained heavily: "Pickets were thrown out, and large details were made to work upon the road daily."[29]

With the exception of the Shenandoah Valley's central turnpike, which had a macadamized surface, almost all of Virginia's roads were basic dirt paths; when wet with rain, the dirt became a dense, sticky mass that tenaciously clung to wagon wheels and soldiers' boots. In swampy areas with high water tables, artillery and provision wagons, like those following McClenthen's column, became hopelessly mired in the mud. Frank Morse, a chaplain with the Thirty-Seventh Massachusetts, wrote to his wife from Virginia in the fall of 1862, "The roads here are in an awful condition. In many places you could hardly tell where the road originally was." After a heavy rain, "the army wagons will make a mud hole of such depth that it will become impassable. Then they make another road around it. If it be in the opening there is but little difficulty; if in the woods the trees and every thing must be cut away."[30] Ironically, by cutting the trees along the roadsides to provide wider lanes or detours, soldiers actually created the conditions for muddier roads the next rainy season. Surface soils in clear-cut areas eroded more quickly and became ineffective at controlling rain runoff; the water flooded into hard-packed roadways and made mud both deeper and longer lasting.[31] These conditions then required soldiers to cut further into the southern forests and woodlands to construct new roads through muddy areas.

To build these new corduroy roads, pioneer corps or detailed soldiers laid tree trunks and limbs side by side on the surface of the mud, anchoring them with wooden piles driven down through the soil until they came to rest on stable bedrock. After the pile drivers set the anchors, the men would cut trees down and saw them into equal-length sections; two more groups of soldiers would then stand on each side of the road and pull the logs across, line them up next to each other (ideally, with few gaps), build a cross-layer, and then cover the road with gravel to smooth it out.[32] Photographer D. B. Woodbury caught this process in action in Virginia in 1862 (see fig. 3.4). In the image, a group of men carry wooden poles to the road site as officers look on; in this particular case, the road is not cut through a forest, so pioneers probably had to haul logs from further away. And as with bridges, some roads were built and then rebuilt. Wagons at times were too heavy for the roads, and sections of logs sank into the mud, necessitating reconstruction. And as McClenthen noted, large details often worked on these roads daily, cutting more trees to replace sunken or rotting logs, building new sections to bypass sinkholes, or replacing corduroy roads that had been swept away by floods.[33]

Pioneer corps also used huge quantities of wood to build and repair railroad beds and bridges, another vital component of the war's transportation infrastructure. Frank Morse was amazed at the efficiency of the pioneer corps in this regard. "Thirty miles of rail road has been constructed in a week," he wrote to his wife in November 1863; "If we could win victories as rapidly as we build rail roads the rebellion would soon be over."[34] In 1860, more than thirty thousand miles of track connected cities and towns across the United States, with ten thousand of those miles lying in the states of the Confederacy.[35] During the war, both sides used railroad lines to transport troops, supplies, and wounded men and sought to prevent the enemy from doing the same. "Sleepers" (ties)—made of hemlock, chestnut, and oak—rails, and cars therefore became targets for military incendiaries. It is unclear exactly how many miles of southern railroad ties and bridges were destroyed and rebuilt between 1861 and 1865; the number is likely greater than one thousand. Such acts of ruination consumed a great deal of wood. In 1865, Frederick Starr Jr., who worked for the newly formed U.S. Department of Agriculture during the war, wrote an annual report on forest destruction in which he estimated that

Figure 3.4. D. B. Woodbury, *Engineer Corps Making Corduroy Roads*, 1862, in Alexander Gardner, *Photographic Incidents of the War*, No. 656. Box 277, "Civil War General," Stereographs Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

each mile of railroad track used almost three thousand pieces of timber for sleepers alone; this figure did not include the wood used to fence the tracks, erect bridges and depots, build the cars, or fire the locomotives.[36]

Those soldiers who built bridges, roads, and railroads found the work arduous. John West Haley and his fellow soldiers of the Seventeenth Maine were detailed to cut out a road outside Petersburg, Virginia. "This road is twelve feet wide, six feet deep, and a mile long," he wrote in his diary after several days of labor. "We felt as if we should be glad when it was done."[37] Oscar Bailey, a soldier in the First Massachusetts, complained to his father in March 1863, "I do not have much idle time as we ar at work every day making caudroy roads clear from Aquia Creek to Falmouth 10 or 15 miles it is awful work up to your knees in Virginia mud." After describing the process of building the road by hand, Bailey lamented, "I wish the war was ended."[38]

However much they hated trading rifles for axes and working fatigue duty, soldiers' labor in the forests of the South was indispensible to both the Union and Confederate Armies. Marching was an almost constant feature of life during the Civil War, and armies on both sides of the conflict faced the enormous challenge of moving thousands of men, animals, and wagons through the southern landscape. They often eased their way by cutting down trees. They cleared forest pathways, threw pines and oaks into the roadways and rivers to delay the enemy, and set trees on fire to light the road, creating vast landscapes of stumps to build the infrastructure of war in the 1860s. Both white and black northerners and southerners felled trees to build bridges and roadways to move more quickly and efficiently through the South's various environments. And when they finally stopped marching and threw down their knapsacks, they continued this process of destructive creation, leaving additional marks of war on the southern countryside.

In Camp

When Union and Confederate soldiers halted after a long day's or night's march, they usually found a field or clearing in which to bivouac, or set up their shelter tents for a well-deserved rest. It was imperative, however, that at least a small stand of trees be nearby; soldiers needed to be able to

cut wood or gather branches for the fires with which they warmed their bodies, dried their clothes, and cooked their food. Most Civil War soldiers wrote in their diaries or letters home about the near-daily work of cutting firewood. The frequency with which they mentioned this part of their fatigue duty increased during the winter months, when they built more permanent camps, or winter quarters.[39] Cutting firewood was such a common chore, in fact, that some soldiers exploited this expectation to cover for more illicit activities. Henry Klag, a musician in the Ninety-Fifth Pennsylvania, wrote in his diary about a November 28, 1861, celebration: "This being Thanksgiving Day, So Hause, Fitzpatrick and myself concluded to have a little fun. So we got a pass from 10 until 4 with the excuse that we were going in the woods to fell trees for firewood. When we got outside of the lines we took a different direction and went over to Fort Blenker to a German sutler from N.Y. who sold a wine glass full of Whiskey for 5 cents."[40] Klag does not mention whether he and his friends were caught coming back to camp, drunk and empty-handed. Sometimes companies or pioneer corps were detailed to cut firewood for the entire camp, but much of the time, soldiers were expected to provide fuel for themselves. If Klag and his friends shivered through Thanksgiving night without a fire to keep them comfortable, it was likely their own fault.

Cutting enough firewood was critical to soldiers' survival, especially during the winter. Creed Davis, a Confederate private in the Second Richmond Howitzers who spent December 1864 in the Shenandoah Valley east of Staunton, "prepared last night for snow, having cut up an unusually large quantity of wood for fuel." That night, "we were not disappointed in our expectations," and Davis's wood supply kept him and his messmates warm through a nighttime snowstorm.[41] To stay warm and eat well, soldiers had to keep a steady supply of wood on hand; while they may have been admirers of majestic trees before the war, they ignored aesthetics and aimed for high quality when searching for firewood. William Tecumseh Sherman wrote an admiring description of "a majestic avenue of live-oaks" on a plantation in Pocotaligo, South Carolina, before noting that its "limbs had been cut away by the troops for firewood."[42] Henry Hitchcock, a soldier who joined Sherman in the Georgia campaign, wrote to his wife in October 1864, "It is bad for the live oaks and cedars that so many soldiers are camped round here in cold weather."[43] Soldiers knew

through experience either at home or in the army that pines, so plentiful across the South, were tricky. They would not ignite when they were green and would burn too quickly, producing a thick, sooty smoke, when seasoned. Troops therefore preferred hardwoods such as oak, cedar, and hickory, which burned steadily and slowly, providing more even heat over long periods.[44] Many soldiers could not be choosy, however, and they often paid the price. Confederate Edward Garlick Gwathmey spent several days on Big Sewell Mountain in the winter of 1861 and hunkered down around pine log fires day and night, "the smoke almost putting out our eyes."[45]

Sometimes these campfires resulted in even more destruction of southern forests. Because so many camps and fields were located near woodlots, the chance that a spark would set the nearby woods on fire was a good one. In November 1864, Davis's regiment, camped on Massanutten Mountain in Virginia, awoke to the sounds and smell of a crackling forest fire: "The wind blew violently last night, scattering our fires in every direction. At mid-night the woods were found to be on fire. . . . [T]he men were marched to the fire, and soon extinguished it."[46] Matthew Wood Allen, a Confederate soldier in the Army of Northern Virginia, recorded forest fires near camp in November 1863 and again in April 1864. While he did not speculate about the cause of the conflagrations, he noted of the latter incident, "The woods looked beautiful at night where the fire had been."[47] Allen's appreciation of the beauty of burned-over forests suggests that he was not overly worried about the dwindling of local woodlands; to him and to most soldiers on both sides of the conflict, the southern forests were inexhaustible resources. These men did not believe that the nation's wood supply was likely to run out, and in any case, they needed the wood to survive. For many Civil War soldiers, the destruction of nearby trees was sometimes beautiful and always necessary.

Soldiers cut firewood on a daily basis for themselves and sometimes made extra money felling timber for local residents. Short on rations during the winter of 1864–65, Davis cut two cords of oak for "a lady in the neighborhood" and went on "another wood and chopping expedition for Mr. Hamilton, a neighboring farmer, who will pay us for our work in produce, meal, and bacon."[48] Such work provided extra food (no small matter, especially for the Confederate Army in 1864–65) and perhaps some

extra spending money for encamped soldiers. It also provided labor for southern civilians, many of whom had seen their sons and husbands go off to war and their slaves escape to the Union Army. And although most Union and Confederate soldiers took axes to trees as a "right of provision," some paid southern civilians for firewood. Albert Gallatin Browne, special agent of the U.S. Treasury in the Department of the South, paid out of his own pocket for firewood for himself and his staff in South Carolina in 1864. His receipts, submitted for reimbursement to the Treasury Department, reveal that the going rate for a two-week supply of wood was between three and five dollars.[49] Some southerners who did not receive immediate payments for their cordwood applied for reimbursement to the U.S. government after taking an oath of allegiance. In 1864, George Mason, a Virginia planter whose lands became a Union encampment during the 1862 Peninsula campaign, "brought in a bill of eighty thousand dollars against the Government." He calculated this sum by demanding "twenty thousand dollars for cord-wood we cut" and eighty dollars an acre for "the injury done the land."[50]

Civil War soldiers spent a great deal of time doing injury to the land by cutting trees for their own use. When their time in camp was believed to be of a much longer duration, soldiers built log cabins, beginning the southern countryside's transformation into a series of ephemeral villages. In 1863, one northern soldier described the process of converting forests to camps: "The small pines were soon leveled to the ground and our dingy looking tents occupied their places. Let as many men as there are here go into a piece of woodland to camp, and in half a day where the giants of the forest stood in all their towering majesty, a large city of tents with their inhabitants will appear, putting one in mind of the Arabian tales."[51] In December 1861, George Henry Caperton, a cavalryman in the Second Virginia, also noted how quickly forests became camps: "Sunday meets with no observance. Men busy chopping and building huts," he wrote in his diary. "It requires little time to build a village."[52]

When they halted, foremost on soldiers' minds was shelter; they built a wide range of structures to keep warm and out of the wind. If they were staying only a few days or a week, they pitched tents on the ground and covered them with pine boughs and scattered leaves on the tent "floor" as bedding. Some soldiers collaborated, building trestles of pine boughs

that covered several tents at once for extra protection from the wind and rain.[53] While on picket post, soldiers also used the surrounding forests for their benefit, constructing lean-tos and shelter roofs out of branches. These barriers were effective only some of the time: Charles Adams, a private in the Thirteenth Massachusetts, complained to his sister, Hannah, that while on picket duty in February 1863, it began to snow and "we put up in the woods. We made a house of boughs & just as we finished it commenced to rain so the boughs did no good."[54] These temporary shelters did not result in much extensive woodcutting; however, when the northern and southern armies entered winter quarters, soldiers almost immediately set to work on what they variously referred to as their huts, cabins, shanties, houses, or log palaces.

Typical soldiers' huts in both Union and Confederate camps consisted of conical Sibley tents, raised above the ground on a circle of "halved logs set vertically," or multiple A-frame tents pitched atop four logs cross-hatched lengthwise to form a "stockade."[55] For many soldiers, this was a novel experience. "I am building a house this morning," Wilder Dwight wrote to his mother in the winter of 1861, "four trees as scantling, a board floor on them, and a surrounding pen four feet high are now in progress. Over this 'pen' my tent will be pitched and I can defy the storm."[56] But soldiers soon became used to building such shelters on a fairly regular basis while encamped. By February 25, 1864, Maine soldier Leander Cram was so good at building this type of structure that he "went in the woods with some men to show them where to cut some timber to 'stockade' a tent to put Q.M. stores in, and also how to do it."[57]

The most common form of winter house was the single-room log hut, built with horizontally laid logs and a single doorway in the gable end.[58] This kind of camp architecture necessitated many logs, and the construction of these more elaborate winter quarters typically took the time and talents of the entire regiment. Many soldiers were from rural areas and used their knowledge of clearing woodlands and erecting farmhouses and outbuildings to build shelters and winter camp villages.[59] Soldiers with expertise – especially sawyers and carpenters – made themselves useful in camp just as they did in repairing roads and bridges. The aptly named James H. Sawyer, a corporal in the Eighteenth Connecticut, took advantage of these local experts in Virginia in the winter of 1864–65. "About a mile

from camp was the ruins of an old saw mill," he later recalled; "The machinists of the regiment soon had it in running order. Each mess went into the woods, cut down a suitable tree, and employed the regimental teams to haul them to the mill and saw them into board." Within a few days, Sawyer noted with satisfaction, "our load of green oak boards and a few pieces of scantling was delivered to the spot that was to be the site of our winter residence."[60]

The wide range of construction experience and the desire of many soldiers to provide both shelter and a sense of domesticity for themselves in camp resulted in a diversity of camp architecture. Material evidence from excavated campsites suggests that "individuals or teams of individuals down to the level of the common soldier had some leeway with respect to the dwellings they occupied and constructed."[61] Frank Morse, a chaplain with little building experience, was impressed with the ways the rank and file of the Thirty-Seventh Massachusetts went about making their shelters: "They display a great deal of ingenuity in the construction of their tents. They appropriate to their use wood, stones, earth, turf, and brush from trees and straw and various other things. They succeed in making themselves quite comfortable."[62] Artist Edwin Forbes was fascinated by these structures and their place in the new landscape of war. His image, *Home Sweet Home*, shows two soldiers sitting outside their stockade A-frame tent, which they have also used to dry some laundry and store their rifles (see fig. 3.5). Smoke drifts up from a stone and mud chimney, and one soldier sits on a kind of planked front porch while the other plays a homemade violin.[63] Bare earth surrounds the tent and other forms of camp architecture – a set of Sibley tents and several larger, more elaborate log cabins appear in the background. Woodlands appear in the background of the image, indicating the probable source of the materials for the camp's many cabins and other outbuildings.

Camp shanties were considered inadequate winter shelter if they lacked chimneys. Confederate Archibald Pleasants, an orderly in the Eighteenth Virginia, wrote to his cousin from camp near Centreville, Virginia, describing the "pleasant situation" in which his regiment found itself during the fall of 1861. "We are camped in the woods, having cleared up space enough for a camp," he wrote. "For the last week nearly the whole camp has been at work putting up Chimneys to their tents, we build them of

Figure 3.5. Edwin Forbes, *Home Sweet Home*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]), plate 24. Map Room, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

logs, with a rock fireplace, & we have some big log fires I tell you."[64] The construction of these chimneys was more challenging than many soldiers anticipated, however. In the winter of 1863, Josiah Fuller, a captain in the Thirty-Second Massachusetts, lamented to his wife that "we were up til 3 this morning putting out our chimney or rather fireplace which seemed determined to burn. It is made of logs (split once) and notched together, then filled with mud and the mud dried. Became red hot and so set on fire the wood, and as it burnt on the inside of the logs & next to the mud, we did not know the mischief for some time. This morning it looked as if the iron clads had been shelling it."[65] Fuller and his messmates repaired their chimney before breakfast by lining it with stone and mud but undoubtedly had to replace the wood as well. Soldiers knew the value of a log cabin with a working fireplace during the winter months; they would freeze to death without shelter and fire.

Soldiers learned through experience that mud could combust and that rain could permeate even the most tightly constructed of log walls,

creating a muddy mess. To fix this problem, many soldiers built floors in their houses; some were created out of fence rails, others with logs. Massachusetts officer Eben Fiske proudly wrote to his sister, Emily, that after a violent thunderstorm flooded his tent, he "laid a floor of logs so that I could *calmly* vein the water sluices and be satisfied."[66] Frank Morse, whose winter quarters at Brandy Station, Virginia, were full of mud in January 1864, hired a carpenter to build a corduroy floor for him. He was much pleased with the result, which kept his feet and most of his belongings clean and dry.[67] Soldiers were also concerned about the preservation of their furniture, which they often built themselves (or, like Morse, hired other soldiers to construct) using nearby trees as raw material. They made desks, bookshelves, chairs, and other furnishings. In the initial weeks of his first winter in camp, Wilder Dwight described the amazing proliferation of cabins and bragged about his "several ingenious devices for bed, washstand, front door; (a sliding door), etc, etc."[68]

The pieces of furniture that soldiers prized most highly and tried to preserve throughout the winter were their beds. Massachusetts soldier George H. Troup collected pine boughs, limbs, and leaves for the construction of his bed at least once a month between December 1862 and March 1863.[69] In November 1861, Richard Cary described the construction of his bed in minute detail to his wife: "My bed is made of four forked sticks driven into the ground two at the head & two at the foot & two long sticks running lengthwise & resting on the forks of the uprights which are about two feet and a half high, the slats are barrel staves when on this is put my bed tick stuffed with straw." The arrangement, he noted facetiously, was "fit for a king."[70] To house themselves and create domestic arrangements that brought them some measure of comfort within the wartime landscape, Civil War soldiers expended a great deal of energy and cut down an abundance of trees in the immediate vicinity.

One great frustration many soldiers consequently felt was that of building shelters and then being forced to abandon them and build all over again at a different location.[71] This was a common experience, as Confederate William Henry Tatum of the Richmond Howitzers attested in January 1863. He wrote to his sister from Chesterfield Station, "We are busy building log cabins, though it is rumored that we will leave in about three weeks for North Carolina."[72] Many soldiers worked on their houses for weeks and were then ordered to move on. Confederate soldier Samuel

Pendleton entered what he thought was his regiment's winter camp on November 26, 1861, and reported, "All hands are busy about the quarters and while some cut others haul and others build." He worked on his own house and carried wood for others for two weeks, but on December 9, "we heard that we were to move this evening and go to Wynne's Mill near Williamsburg for the winter."[73] By fall of 1863, Frank Morse was tired of this pattern. "We fix up and pull down, fix up and pull down," he complained, "and so it goes on *ad infinitum.* It will be a joyous day when we pull down for the last time and transfer ourselves from canvas to more cheerful and substantial quarters."[74] Though they were annoyed at having to move after expending so much time and energy building their huts, soldiers had no choice but to obey orders. They moved out and moved on, and like Braxton Bragg's soldiers in 1862, they often burned their cabins to ashes to keep the dwellings out of enemy hands.

Despite the ephemeral nature of their wooden lodgings, most Civil War soldiers found great comfort in the structures beyond their basic function as shelter. Although New Hampshire's Sylvester Hadley was caught out fetching wood for fires in "a regular New England north Easter" in Virginia in January 1863, he was relieved to see the snow falling so thickly. "The Army will have to lay still as long as there is snow upon the ground," he wrote in his diary. "It is much better for us than rain as it will last longer." Hadley spent the next few days reading inside his hut; he then went on an excursion to procure "some poles and fixed up a good Bunk, and some other little matters about the house so that it will be more comfortable."[75] Soldiers constructed furniture and shelves for their cabins not only for practical purposes but also to re-create a sense of domesticity in the landscape of war. Alexander Gardner, a Union photographer, was impressed with these domestic acts, finding the hut of one chief quartermaster to be delightfully "homelike." Gardner photographed the exterior and noted in the image's caption that the house boasted "a fireplace worthy of a New England mansion house" and walls "partly papered with illustrated weeklies" and maps. In such a pleasing domestic environment, "round the blazing hearth, on many a sullen winter night, the ennui of camp were forgotten in pleasant re-unions of the General's staff."[76] Soldiers' cabins were utilitarian buildings, meant to provide shelter and warmth, but they also offered opportunities for camaraderie and a sense of comfort.

When forced to leave their cozy cabins, Civil War soldiers emerged into a gridded, planned military landscape of regimental "streets" and open squares. All Confederate and Union camps, no matter where they were located, looked the same because military regulations dictated their layout. In the U.S. Army's *Revised Regulations of 1861*, each company of infantry was directed to pitch its tents or build its huts in two rows, "facing on a street perpendicular to the color line" (the regimental front) and ten paces from it; the street "should not be less than 5 paces" wide. To the rear of the soldiers' tents were the kitchens, the lodgings of noncommissioned officers and sutlers, the company officers, and the field and staff, with each row separated by a street 20 paces wide.[77] This camp landscape reflected the hierarchy of military rank; the "regimented organization of camps reinforced the manner in which troops who fought and moved together, lived together, and formed bonds that carried them together into battle."[78] These camps also probably reminded soldiers of their hometowns, where the grid pattern held sway by the mid-nineteenth century. To bolster these feelings of familiarity (each camp the same, each camp reminiscent of home) during a time of great upheaval, soldiers went to great lengths to "improve" the camp landscape. In so doing, they created ephemeral villages, built with trees cut and hauled out of southern woodlands.

Some of the camp buildings soldiers built were for military use, while others housed entertainments and created a sense of community. To protect their horses and mules from the weather, soldiers worked together to erect company stables. Confederate private Matthew Wood Allen was detailed for this kind of work over the winter of 1863–64, laboring with other men in his regiment to provide shelter for his artillery unit's horses.[79] Some of these stables were large enough to house one hundred horses; other shelters were more improvisational. Officers, who were expected to take care of their own mounts while on the march and in camp, often assembled single-stall stables near their huts. Forbes's *The Commissary's Winter Quarters in Camp* shows a log hut with a stable large enough to house one horse attached (see fig. 3.6).[80] The stable was made of pine boughs and shrubs, common building materials for makeshift stables like this one. Frank Morse, who often wrote home affectionately about his horse, Billy, built him a one-hundred-square-foot structure made entirely of pine boughs: "I wove in evergreen between the stakes making a thick

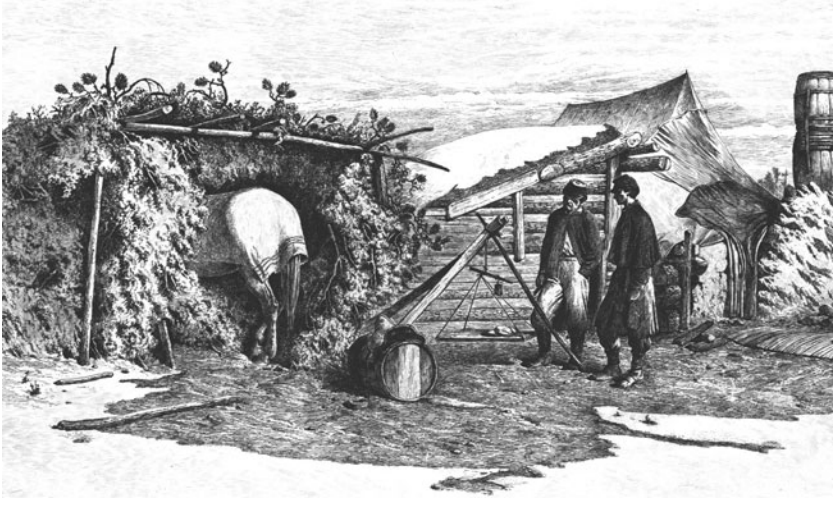

Figure 3.6. Edwin Forbes, *The Commissary's Winter Quarters in Camp*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]), plate 2. Map Room, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

hedge, so compact that you can hardly see through it. The top, which is sloping, is also covered thickly with evergreens."[81] Stables and shelters for men and horses consumed the limbs and boughs of pine trees across the South; that many of these shelters were improvisational and impermanent meant that soldiers probably built several such structures over the course of one winter.

Shelters for men and horses dominated the camp landscape, but soldiers also built structures for their own edification and entertainment. Such buildings reveal a widespread desire among soldiers to achieve a sense of place, to locate themselves in the midst of the war's dislocations. Chaplains and soldiers who were regular churchgoers often lobbied to build chapels. Some were small structures, about the size of two or three huts combined; others were enormous. Union soldier John West Haley spent the winter of 1864–65 in camps outside Petersburg, Virginia, and was amazed to find "several chapels in this vicinity, erected since we came here. There was one large one that would seat five hundred or more at this one services

were held every evening."[82] He was probably talking about Poplar Grove, built by the Fiftieth New York Engineers during the siege of Petersburg in 1864. Timothy O'Sullivan's photograph of Poplar Grove reveals the immensity of this building and the number of logs used to build its exterior walls and massive steeple, which rises about forty feet into the air (see fig. 3.7). O'Sullivan also captures shards of wood in the foreground in addition to a wooden workbench and a stump at left, which frame the image and suggest both the labor and materials used to construct this enormous building. To build Poplar Grove, the Fiftieth New York Engineers must have used the wood from at least fifty trees. The structure was still standing when J. T. Trowbridge visited the camp a year later. The camp had become a ghost town, but the church remained in use by local residents, whose own church had been destroyed during the siege and who received Poplar Grove as a gift from Union regiments as a replacement.[83]

Frank Morse's chapel at Brandy Station, which he and several men from his regiment erected during the winter of 1863, was a bit more modest than Poplar Grove. While he enjoyed leading services outdoors, seeking out shady groves during the summer and spring, Morse argued for the construction of a chapel in winter camp not only to shield churchgoers from the weather but also because "the men all seem pleased with the idea of having a place for religious worship. It will seem more like going to church at home."[84] The chapel that men from Morse's regiment helped him build in December 1863 was twenty-six feet long and twenty feet wide. A sketch of the chapel that he sent his wife in January 1864 reveals a structure whose stockade was made entirely of wood logs in an area surrounded by stumps – probably the remnants of the trees used to build the chapel (see fig. 3.8).[85] In addition to the logs used for the structure, Morse and his men used wood to corduroy the floor (around five hundred square feet), to build the chimney, and to construct the pews and pulpit.[86] When soldiers such as Morse and his men and the Fiftieth New York Engineers built and rebuilt chapels in camps across the South, they did so to provide a sense of community for themselves and to make the landscape of war feel more like home.

Many Civil War soldiers preferred other entertainments to churchgoing, erecting buildings to accommodate these desires. Confederate soldier Joseph Banks Lyle combated the winter doldrums in Petersburg in

Figure 3.7. Timothy O'Sullivan, *Petersburg, Virginia. Church Built by the Fiftieth New York Engineers at Poplar Grove*, November 1864. Civil War Photographs Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

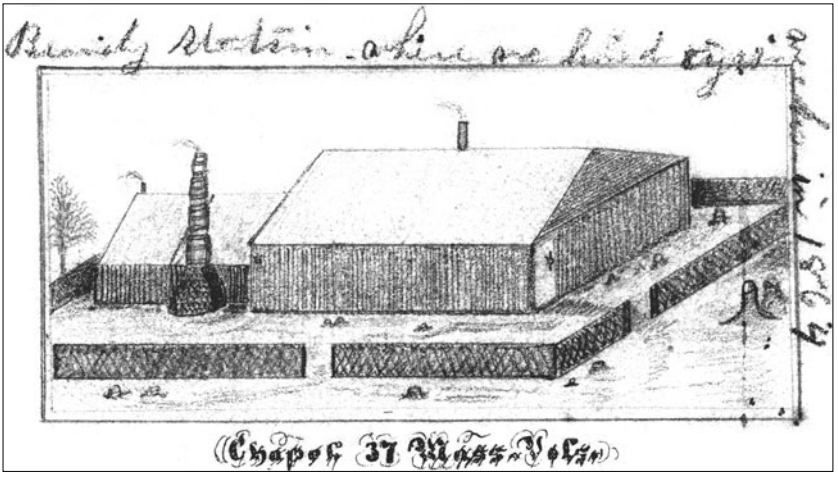

Figure 3.8. Frank Morse, *Sketch of a Chapel for the 37th Regiment*, January 2, 1864. Original drawing pen and ink on paper, Frank C. Morse Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1865 by attending the "Field's Variety," a theatrical show he pronounced "rather a poor affair." He saw this show in a theater, as "during the winter, churches, a theater, and a house for Negro minstrelsy were erected by Field's Division."[87] Haley reported similar buildings that housed theatricals on the Union side of the line in 1864: "The officers had balls and parties, and a theatre also built of logs and covered with canvass," he wrote in his diary. "One would never have suspected that we were in the midst of a desperate struggle for the life of the nation to have seen the mirth and hilarity which prevailed."[88] The business of warfare was often bloody and violent, and both Union and Confederate soldiers participated in a variety of leisure activities, including staging and attending plays and parties, to deal with the horrors of battle. To provide such entertainments for his men, Union general James C. Rice ordered the Second Brigade, First Division to build an opera house in winter camp, and Forbes sketched this structure for *Frank Leslie's Newspaper* (see fig. 3.9). The building is not large or particularly well constructed, but the image clearly shows that the walls, ceiling frames, sets, and audience benches are made of wood.

When they "improved" their surroundings, Civil War soldiers turned forests into camps and camps into villages. They sought to make camp life

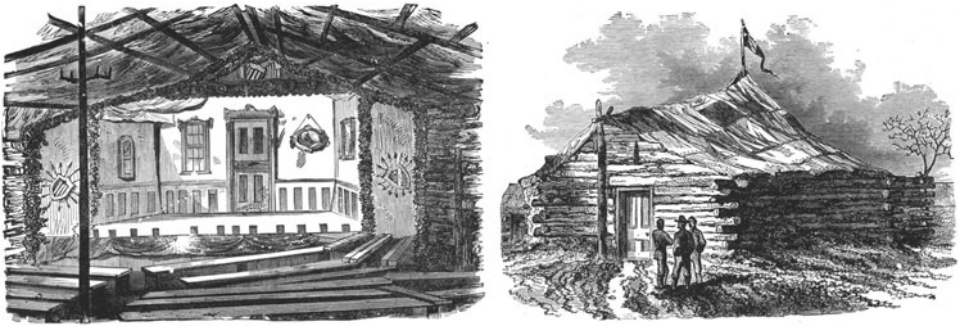

Figure 3.9. Edwin Forbes, *Interior and Exterior of the Opera House Erected by the Second Brigade, First Division, First Army Corps, Commanded by General Rice*, in *The Soldier in Our Civil War, Abridged Edition: Famous War Pictures Demonstrating the Valor of the Soldier as Displayed on the Battlefield: Sketched on the Spot by Famous War Artists* (New York: Stanley-Bradley, 1893), 236. Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

resemble their hometowns as much as possible through the medium of architecture, injecting a sense of spatial normalcy into military life. While they sought to build a landscape of war that was comforting and recognizable, Civil War soldiers also yearned for surroundings that were pleasing to the eye. Howard Dwight, Wilder Dwight's brother and a Union cavalryman in Missouri in 1861, wrote to his mother that their camp near Rolla "was lately a forest with trees of all ages & sizes & a dense undergrowth. Now everything except the largest and handsomest trees has been cleared away & it now presents the appearance of a beautiful grove, the intervals between the trees being occupied by tents." Dwight thought this camp scene was "truly picturesque & will not soon be forgotten."[89] Soldiers often evaluated the landscape of war using well-known aesthetic terms – the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque – and particularly valued the picturesque, a pleasing blend of the wild and domesticated nature. To make their villages more homey, both Union and Confederate soldiers went out into the forests and brought nature back with them.

In the winter of 1862, Union soldier and Delaware native Charles H. Ashton's father visited him at Camp Hamilton, his winter quarters in Virginia. In April, Ashton wrote to his mother that the camp "has been

Figure 3.10. Edward Sachse, *Camp Kelsey, Near Annapolis Junction, Md. Comp. F. 10th Maine Regt Enjoying Thanksgiving Dinner, Sent Them by Their Friends at Lewiston, November 21, 1861* [detail]. Lithographs Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

greatly improved since pap was down here." His company had laid out and paved the streets, and now "we have flower beds before our doors and paved walks."[90] Edward Sachse, a lithographer who produced hundreds of camp images for popular consumption during the Civil War, depicted similar attempts at landscape gardening at Camp Kelsey near Annapolis Junction, Maryland, the winter camp of the Tenth Maine (see fig. 3.10). The regiments' tents flank the dinner table (set for a Thanksgiving feast), and around their borders the viewer can see boxes filled with plants and evergreen boughs. Alexander Gardner was similarly impressed by this seeming instinct for domestic improvement among Union soldiers, and he included Timothy O'Sullivan's photograph, *Camp Architecture*, in the second volume of *Photographic Sketch Book*. The image reveals the extent to which soldiers adorned their log huts with pine branches and other greenery (see fig. 3.11). This hut, built in winter quarters at Brandy Station, is a small one-room cabin with a portico in front; the portico's "columns" and the entire front gable end of the cabin are festooned with pine

Figure 3.11. Timothy O'Sullivan, *Camp Architecture: Brandy Station, Virginia*, January 1864 [detail], in Alexander Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War* (Washington D.C.: Philip and Solomons, 1865), vol. 2, plate 57. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

boughs. In his caption for the photo, Gardner lauds the "ingenuity and taste of the American soldier," which result in well-built and refreshingly decorated quarters. "The forests are ransacked for the brightest foliage, branches of the pine, cedar, and holly are laboriously collected," he notes approvingly, "and the work of beautifying the quarters continued as long as material can be procured."[91]

The urge to beautify domestic and village spaces with plants, flowers, and trees was a recent development in American culture. As Euro-American communities began to spread westward beyond the Alleghenies and urbanization accelerated along the eastern seaboard in the 1830s and 1840s, both northerners and southerners began to value the integration of nature and culture. While the widespread appreciation of wilderness remained several decades away (the eloquent arguments of Henry David Thoreau notwithstanding), many Americans embraced the idea

that the pastoral landscape – that which combined both elements of wilderness and evidence of human improvements – was the most fundamentally American of all environments.[92] The city park movement, instigated by Andrew Jackson Downing, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Calvert Vaux in the 1840s and 1850s, demonstrated this new idea that Americans needed to balance city life with healthful interactions with nature. "Middle landscapes" such as city parks and well-established farmlands represented the harmonization of nature and social order, a domestication of the wilderness.[93] In the context of the landscape of war, which transformed forests into camp villages seemingly overnight and often seemed to wipe out all vegetation and animal life, soldiers sought to reinsert nature into their lives by planting flowers and especially transplanting trees.

Ensconced in camp near New Bern, North Carolina, in 1863, George Troup and his brother, Charles, worked on two different tree transplantation projects, one in March and one in May.[94] Henry Klag and his Pennsylvania mates similarly fixed up their camp village in June 1862, transforming it during the Peninsula campaign "in a beautiful style by planting a row of pine trees on each side of the Avenue." Colonel John M. Gosline was so impressed with the band's work that he put them "on police cutting the brush around camp and planting trees around the Colonel's quarters."[95] Union soldier Jesse Sturm embarked on a similar project with his fellow soldiers when they were assigned to guard a railroad supply line in West Virginia. "We established the most beautiful and picturesque camp I ever saw," he wrote in his memoir, grading "all the streets and avenues as nicely as the paved streets of Wellington." They set out cedar trees in front of each tent on the street, all of them "about twelve feet high and all the same size and height." Then they placed larger trees along the company officers' street and planted eighteen-foot-high cedars in a square surrounding the headquarters.[96] Along the railroad line, a transplanted forest leafed out and bloomed.

Some soldiers beautified their camps as a way to celebrate holidays. The men of the Tenth Maine may have planted their tent boxes as part of their Thanksgiving festivities, while the men of the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts adorned their company headquarters "with evergreen" on December 25, 1864, although "there was very little opportunity for the celebration of Christmas."[97] Other soldiers were ordered to transplant trees and

beautify their camp streets for military rather than community reasons. On April 2, 1863, John West Haley spent the day "decorating the Co. streets with pine trees and other evergreens. The trees were dragged over a mile, and the officers not only allowed but encouraged us to do it when they knew we were going to move the next day. We had heard some rumors to this effect a few days before, but this decorating the camp entirely disarmed us of every suspicion of a move."[98] Keeping soldiers' morale up was a constant challenge during the long winters and the exhausting, anxious spring and summer campaigns. Like building huts, camp beautification became a way to both comfort soldiers and keep them busy. These projects also created a sense of satisfaction almost akin to homeownership. Frank Morse commented in a May 1863 letter to his wife, "The men seem to take great pride in ornamenting their quarters"; he had recently had "a beautiful row of cedar trees set around my tent which makes it very cool and comfortable."[99] Whatever the reasons for the beautification of camps through tree transplantation, the results pleased both soldiers and observers. As Gardner argued, "A camp thus embowered, with the regiments parading, the arms glittering like silver, and the music of the bands swelling in the breeze, presents a scene of beauty rarely excelled."[100]

Transplanted trees provided shade and visual relief in a camp environment that often looked like a moonscape, and the work completed to create a picturesque camp gave many soldiers a sense of place. Of course, soldiers actively created the bare and stump-filled landscape of war by cutting trees in forests and planting them in camp streets; however, most of them did not see or appreciate this irony. As Morse noted in a letter to his wife, with no apparent self-awareness, "The camp now looks like a forest."[101] When building transportation infrastructure and camp villages across the South, Civil War soldiers not only converted forests into acres of stumps but also created wood scarcity.

The more they built, the further soldiers had to travel to satisfy their fuel and shelter needs. The situation was especially bad in Virginia, as two massive armies marched back and forth and camped in the coastal plain and the piedmont over four years of fighting. Haley's regiment camped near Manassas in June 1863, after two battles had been fought there and Confederates had used the area as a winter camp: "What earthly reason

a person could have for settling in this neighborhood will be the conundrum for future generations to puzzle their craniums over." The area only had one spring to supply the army's water needs, and "nothing seems to grow here but a few trees, and these are a miracle. The country is bare as far as we can see, not a living thing to refresh us or our vision." The next November, when he camped near Bealeton, Virginia, Haley again complained that "a lack of wood and water is the most serious inconvenience an army can labor under." Being without these necessities, he grumbled, "is the feather which breaks the camel's back."[102]

Some areas of the eastern theater were entirely cleared of trees by the end of the war. Arriving in the hopefully named Woodstock, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley, in February 1865, Connecticut soldier E. D. Woodbury was disgruntled to find that his regiment was "camped where wood was a minus quantity."[103] Soldiers especially hated halting at previously occupied campsites, which tended to be dusty and lacked wood for fuel and shelter. After his unit stopped at a familiar clearing in the Shenandoah Valley in September 1864, Creed Davis wrote in his diary that this "is the poorest place for such a purpose in the Valley. Having been used as a camping ground ever since the war began, alternately by ours and enemies army. Wood and water inconveniently far from camp. The country is very destitute of both."[104] Outside Fredericksburg during the brutal winter of 1862–63, New York's Robert Coburn wrote despairingly in his diary, "Wood run out, can't get none. Now the fire went out."[105]

Soldiers' experiences with wood scarcity were not completely unfamiliar. During the antebellum period, local paucity of timber necessarily followed the establishment of homesteads in forested areas along the eastern seaboard and the Upper Midwest. Such deficiencies could be remedied by hauling wood from distant locations; this pattern was replicated in military camps.[106] While they rarely noticed the clear-cutting of local forests as it was happening, some Civil War soldiers did become aware of it when they had to ride or walk farther to find wood to haul back to camp. John Denniston Marlin, an Illinois soldier in Kentucky, noted in his diary on January 3, 1863, "I went six miles in the country after wood." About three weeks later, he "went into the country ten miles after wood."[107] Marlin's experience may have been extreme: most soldiers traveled between one and three miles to find wood.[108]

Letter and diary notations regarding wood scarcity reveal that by 1863, the clear-cutting of southern forests and woodlands along battlefield corridors was already extensive. Camps produced an ever-growing, stump-filled perimeter, forcing soldiers to adapt. Vermonter Wilber Fisk complained that in the winter of 1862, "the trees outside the camp have all been cut and used up long ago," and "fuel has become scarce, so scarce that hardly a sound stump can be found in this vicinity which has not been chipped off close to the ground." One year later, Frank Morse observed soldiers in his regiment gathering up "all the sticks and chips and cutting down the stumps of trees the second time" at the Union Army's Brandy Station winter camp.[109] The constant movement of troops and the deforestation of local woodlands created "glaring deserts" in long-term camps like those surrounding Petersburg in 1864–65. The deforestation created erosion, and as Alexander Gardner noted, "the fields were transformed into vast commons, where the winds raised clouds of sand, and covered everything with the sacred soil."[110]

Southerners unfortunate enough to reside within a ten-mile radius of Union or Confederate camps often experienced the destruction of both their homes and their tree stands to meet army needs. Some soldiers turned to "pulling down houses" or fences to furnish the fuel and building material that cutover forestlands could not provide.[111] Wood-starved soldiers also looted the trees in yards, fields, and woodlots, creating shortages for civilians. Prices for wood, as with everything else, skyrocketed between 1861 and 1865, and town and city newspapers across the South urged civilians to stockpile cordwood. The situation was especially dire in larger cities, where wood scarcity had been an increasing problem prior to the war as a consequence of urbanization; interrupted transportation, high prices, and the Confederate Army's demand for wood products created an even more critical situation.[112] The wood supply around Richmond, for example, was so depleted by the end of the war that its citizens began dismantling the Confederate earthworks and abatis that surrounded the city to burn as firewood.[113] As the war went on, shortages could radiate out even further from the theaters of battle; in the fall of 1863, the editors of Georgia's *Macon Telegraph* warned local residents that because the great armies of the Southeast were massing in the mountains of Tennessee and Georgia more than one hundred miles to the north, there would be a

scarcity of wood. "It behooves our citizens to commence immediately laying a supply for the approaching winter," they advised.[114]

To build structures for shelter, spiritual edification, and amusement in their army camps, soldiers ruined southern forests, creating "landscapes of clearing" on camp peripheries.[115] As one southern newspaper reporter wrote, "An army is a great gourmand, and wherever it rests the noblest forests and pastures soon fade from sight, in the capacious swallow of the monster."[116] Cutover lands were common sights in antebellum America, however, and soldiers may have been a "little sad" but were little concerned about their creation of a landscape of stumps to build camp villages – except when they had to walk more than three miles for fresh supplies of wood.[117] Otherwise, they tended to be impressed by the skill and ingenuity that their fellow soldiers exhibited in creating domestic spaces. In their letters home, soldiers described and sketched their huts and camp streets and relished the sights of army camps full of thousands of soldiers. One summer evening in 1861, Richard Cary clambered up a hill and looked over the Union Army camp at Martinsburg, Virginia. He later wrote approvingly to his wife, "There was a nice young moon and the camp fires with tents etc. made quite a picturesque scene."[118] Cary and other soldiers looked with similar interest and admiration on the ghost forests of the South, created in battle by the awesome power of killing technologies.

In Battle

In December 1864, Georgian Eliza Frances Andrews was traveling along the track of Sherman's march through the countryside. Outside Macon, Andrews saw the Union soldiers' effect on the local railroad: "The R.R. track was torn up and iron twisted into every conceivable shape." In their wake, the Yankees had left what many southerners referred to as "Sherman's bow-ties": the iron rails heated up and wrapped around tree trunks. "As if the cruel invaders were not satisfied with doing all the injury they could to their fellow men," Andrews wrote angrily, they "must spend their malice on the innocent trees of the forest, whose only fault was that they grew on Southern soil." Andrews concluded morosely, "Many fine young saplings were killed in this way."[119] Although Sherman's soldiers killed

many southern pines, oaks, and cedars, neither the Union nor the Confederate Armies attacked trees deliberately or with "malice." Even during the massive 1862–65 Union raids on the plantations of Mississippi, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas, officers rarely directed their men to cut or burn trees out of vengeance or as a way to subdue southern civilians.[120] But trees were an inextricable element of every battlefield in the southern landscape; when soldiers built fortifications or camps, they clear-cut woodlands, and as they shot their rifles and artillery at the enemy, they converted tree stands into the ghost forests of war.

During major campaigns, as it became clear that armies were about to clash, both southern and northern soldiers began constructing earthworks, which included "bomb-proof" shelters, stockades and magazines, battery platforms, and signal towers; all of these elements of the protective landscape of battle were constructed of wood, almost all of it culled from nearby forests. As sieges of southern cities became more common after 1863, earthworks (also called breastworks because they were usually chest high) became larger and more complex and dominated the battlefield landscape. Soldiers built these structures using dirt and clay as their primary materials but anchored them with gabions, cylindrical baskets made of twigs or tree branches that soldiers weaved together and filled with earth. They then placed these baskets at specific stress points in the earthwork and anchored them with stakes. To hold the gabions together, soldiers bundled fascines (small poles cut from trees), placed them on top of the gabions, and staked them into the earthwork.[121]

Constructing fortifications, unlike building houses or other camp outbuildings, was a new experience for many soldiers and an unusual sight for southern civilians. Margaret Brown Wight, who lived near Hanover Court House, Virginia, during most of the war (and therefore witnessed many battles, large and small, between 1862 and 1865), wrote in her diary in May 1864 that "the whole of our army is extended along our Central road in front of our [fields;] it is a busy and novel scene cutting down trees, making breastworks, planting their cannon around the top of the hill on which this house stands."[122] Some civilians never got used to this new landscape in their midst. But all Civil War soldiers soon acquired extensive experience building earthworks, so much so that they joked about it, among themselves and with the enemy. Paul Turner Vaughan, an Alabama soldier in General John Bell Hood's division in the Southeast, was

busy digging rifle pits outside Chattanooga in October 1863 when verbal fisticuffs broke out with the Yankees across the way: "They make the air noisy day and night with the sound of busy axes, picks, and shovels. We advanced our picket line several nights ago and dug our rifle pits within a few hundred yards of the Yankee breast works. The next morning a 'Yank' cried out 'Hello boys! What did you dig them holes for?' 'Come over,' said a Rebel, 'and see, and now tell us what you have thrown up all that dirt and piled those logs for?' 'Oh,' said he, 'we did that for a shade.'"[123] Soldiers may have joked about digging rifle pits and constructing earthworks – and resented the arduous labor required to build them – but because they provided men with some measure of protection from bullets, shot, and shell, most soldiers built the fortifications with grim determination. The sound of axes in the forest, as Vaughan noted, made the air "noisy day and night," even in the midst of battle. One sketch of the Union Second Corps's line at the Battle of the Wilderness on May 6, 1864, shows men seeking protection behind a partially built wooden breastwork as their comrades race out to the forest's edge to cut down more trees (see fig. 3.12). Many soldiers and members of the pioneer corps built earthworks under fire, demonstrating their importance as protective elements in the landscape of war.

Earthworks shielded soldiers from shot and shell and provided a view of the surrounding landscape and oncoming troops. To provide more of a buffer against the charging enemy, soldiers cut trees down to make abatis or chevaux-de-frise. Abatis, as Union private and mapmaker Robert Knox Sneden explained in his diary, are "felled trees with their branches sharpened so as to present a wall of obstruction to the enemy's approach." Much like the trees cut and thrown into roadways while armies were on the move, abatis protected men from the enemy's charges. Sneden estimated that "sometimes 2 or 3 acres of Trees are felled, lying in all directions to form obstacles through which the enemy must approach the work." These wooden barriers delayed charging men and gave time "for the sharpshooters to kill as many as possible."[124] An illustration from *Frank Leslie's Scenes* depicts ways that abatis slowed charges during the March 1864 Union capture of Louisiana's Fort De Russy (see fig. 3.13). Union soldiers clambering up and over these large trees and ducking under the massive branches must come almost to a full stop, making them prime targets for Confederate sharpshooters. Here, the men lie entangled in the

Figure 3.12. *The War in Virginia – Sketch on the Line of the Second Corps at the Battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864 – Waiting for the Enemy*, in *Frank Leslie's Scenes and Portraits of the Civil War* (New York: Mrs. F. Leslie [ca. 1894]), n.p. Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

trees, some soldiers wounded and others already dead. In some instances, being trapped in the abatis brought a slow death. When Frank Morse's brother, Horace, took part in the 1863 Port Hudson charge and siege, he witnessed the "the most horrible" scene "to be imagined": wounded men who had lain for four days in the intense heat, unable to extricate themselves from the abatis. After carrying off more than one hundred of the dead from the ditches filled with tree trunks and limbs, Morse concluded, "I have seen war in its most awful aspects."[125]

Charging soldiers had to navigate abatis when they attempted to assault earthworks during the Civil War; they also had to contend with chevaux-de-frise. Sneden explained this particular use of trees in the landscape of battle in his diary: "square beams 6 to 9 ft long from which pointed stakes project at right angles with each other – used to stop a breach in the walls

Figure 3.13. *Capture of Fort de Russy, La., on the 14th of March 1864, by the Federal Forces under General Andrew Jackson Smith* [detail], in *Frank Leslie's Scenes and Portraits of the Civil War* (New York: Mrs. F. Leslie [ca. 1894]), n.p. Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

&c."[126] These structures were integrated into earthworks or placed in the ditches or on the ground directly in front of the earthwork's outer wall to hinder the progress of charging soldiers and especially cavalry; chevaux-de-frise were devastating to galloping horses. Sometimes soldiers assembled these defenses using fence rails (especially when there were no trees to be had in the area) but most were built using cut, peeled, and sharpened tree limbs. Many soldiers who drew maps of battlegrounds in their letters included chevaux-de-frise to mark the edge of the earthwork in two dimensions, highlighting a novel element of the wartime landscape for their families back home. Union photographer George Barnard certainly found the wooden defenses around Atlanta to be captivating photographic subjects in 1864, taking dozens of pictures while traveling with Sherman's army in Georgia. His *War Views No. 2722*, published by E. T. Anthony and Company, shows the extensive line of chevaux-de-frise protecting Confederate fortifications around Atlanta (see fig. 3.14). The rest of the landscape is leveled, with the exception of a lone tree that stands, intact and lush, in the right foreground. The chevaux-de-frise wend their

Figure 3.14. [George N. Barnard], *War Views No. 2722: Rebel Fortifications, North Side of the City, Atlanta, Ga.: Another View*, [1864]. E. T. Anthony and Company, *War Views*, Box 277, "Civil War General," Stereographs Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

Figure 3.15. Edwin Forbes, *Traffic between the Lines. . . . The Enemy's Works (Protected by Abattis and Chevaux-de-Frise) Are Seen in the Background*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]). Map Room, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

way carefully around this tree, which may have provided shade for the Confederate soldiers who built the defenses.

Abatis and chevaux-de-frise gave soldiers defending an earthwork an advantage over the charging enemy; these wooden barriers hindered men and horses, often stopping them long enough to lose momentum. At times, however, these barriers became problematic. Joel Cook reported from the Peninsula campaign in 1862 that "thick forests also ran along the Federal left to the south of the Williamsburg road. These forests and their 'abatis,' the felled portion, entirely obstructed the view of the approaching enemy."[127] While obscuring the enemy's view could be advantageous, both armies generally preferred to see what and who was coming. To shoot the enemy more effectively from the earthwork, both northern and southern soldiers cut down trees to create a clear visual field, a strategy that one Confederate soldier called "unmasking the battery."[128] In Edwin Forbes's illustration, *Traffic between the Lines*, the viewer looks out from the Union earthwork across a field of stumps to the Confederate earthwork across the way; each side has an unobstructed sight line (see fig. 3.15). From Port

Hudson, Horace Morse reported to his sister, "All the way round in front of the rebel works which are about 7 miles long the rebs have cleared of the woods for width from 5 to 600 yards the trees lie in ravines & on the ridges where they fell."[129] Such massive clearing (in this case, about fifteen hundred acres of trees) served a double purpose: enabling artillerymen to see the enemy coming and aim more accurately and providing materials for the construction of abatis and chevaux-de-frise.

Despite this widespread clear-cutting of trees in the line of battle and despite the fact that urban siege operations increased during the second half of the war, trees remained in and around most of the major battlefields. Because Confederate general Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was outnumbered in the eastern theater, he maneuvered most Union generals into meeting him in forests, where Federals' numbers would not be an advantage. Large armies are more effective in the open field, where they can charge and overwhelm the outnumbered enemy. In addition, guerrilla warfare activities across the South brought smaller groups of soldiers into armed conflict with one another in woodlands. All of these actions took a toll on the surrounding trees, creating ghost forests: large acreages of trees stripped of branches and leaves and so whittled by bullets and cannonballs that they resembled corseted southern ladies. Contemplating these "wounded trees," both northerners and southerners grappled with the powerful role of technology in the waging of war.

As stationary elements in battlefields, trees became targets. Sharpshooters often positioned themselves in trees, which provided a good prospect and some cover; once spotted, however, these men were on the receiving end of bullets and shells, as were the trees in which they perched. Skirmishers were also likely to take up positions behind trees because even young saplings could shield men against musket or rifle fire. James Julius Marks remembered that at Savage Station, Virginia, "our troops and the enemy were often, during Saturday afternoon, within a few feet of each other, in the midst of the pine slashings and swamp forests." When one side advanced, it would suddenly come upon the other, and soldiers would skulk "behind the nearest tree, or [crouch] down sheltered by a stump." Marks found this to be "one of those exciting and sanguinary scenes not often witnessed, except in Indian warfare."[130] Many officers encouraged their men, whether on skirmish duty or not, to take cover

behind trees. Richard Cary, who fought his first battle at Sandy Hook on August 29, 1861, wrote proudly to his wife that "the men were surprised & flustered" when they came under attack, "but as soon as they understood my orders they scattered out as skirmishers up the road behind the trees & bushes in good style."[131] Georgia soldier William Harris Clayton reported from Confederate earthworks shelled during the Peninsula campaign that he received similar "orders" in June 1862: "They shell us every day when they commence some of the boys . . . says, 'hunt your trees, boys,' at this command all of us scatter & hide behind trees."[132]

While some soldiers believed that taking cover behind trees was a reasonable response to battle, others saw it as indicative of cowardice. William Dwight Jr., elder brother to both Wilder and Howard Dwight, wrote disdainfully to his mother from the Peninsula campaign, "It was funny to see the expressions of terror on the countenances of some of the men as they sprang behind a tree to avoid the *sound* [of gunfire], the shell having long since past them."[133] Soldiers and civilian commentators often lampooned soldiers perceived as displaying fear by hiding behind trees. Union colonel William Hillyer, for example, wrote a poem about the fight for Fort Donelson in which the protagonist, a coward named Lewellin (based on Lew Wallace, whom Hillyer hated) "asked not [God's] blessing or power / I trusted instead of in thee / For glory a pen – for safety a tree." Late in the battle and "thrice assured no trap was laid," Lewellin "reckless and fearless . . . dashed ahead / Heeding not wounded – trampling the dead." In a (likely fictitious) note attached to the poem, Hillyer stated that Wallace had found out about the piece and challenged Hillyer to a duel. Hillyer noted that he accepted the challenge but claimed "the choice of trees."[134]

The use of trees as cover in battle gave soldiers the opportunity to comment on the relative bravery and cowardice of their comrades and enemies; it also forced them to contemplate the nature of fate. William Henry Tatum marveled at his survival at the Battle of Yorktown in 1862, writing to his sister, "I was sitting behind a tree & a bullet struck the other side at my back, standing by the same tree a bullet struck by my side, another struck in two feet of where I was sitting."[135] Many soldiers wrote in letters and diaries of their near misses and pointed to broken or slivered trees as evidence of their luck in battle. During the fighting at Mine

Run, Virginia, E. D. Woodbury could find only a young tree six inches wide behind which to hide. "Presently came a rifle ball into my friendly tree about as high as my breast," he wrote in his journal, "having a suspicion that the little messenger had been seeking some exposed part of my precious casket I cut for a better shelter."[136] Like Woodbury, many soldiers described the hard *thunk* of bullets hitting trees and sent thanks skyward that those projectiles had not found softer flesh. Massachusetts soldier Charles Morse, marching through Winchester, Virginia, found that "the bushes and trees here were completely riddled with bullets, there wasn't a twig the size of your finger that wasn't cut off, and trees the size of a man's body had, every one at least three or four bullets in it."[137] By taking shot and shell in their trunks and branches, these trees could save soldiers' lives; they also demonstrated the awesome firepower of the war's killing technologies.

As a result of Lee's tactics and of the speed that smaller numbers provided the Army of Northern Virginia, Confederates fought Union forces in a series of forest battles, most famously during the Peninsula campaign (1862) and the battles at Chancellorsville (1863) and the Wilderness (1864). According to Marks, on the Peninsula, northern soldiers fought through land that was "heavily wooded, the forests being either ragged thickets of oak saplings, vines, and thorns, or heavy, dark pine woods." Dislodging the Confederates from their "usual forest haunts" was difficult, he admitted. Every now and again a farm would bring "a spot of sunshine and brightness; but all around this arise, almost as clearly defined as a great dark wall, the lofty firs and hemlocks."[138] Some Union soldiers saw this Confederate "skulking" strategy, like using trees for cover, as a sign of weakness. Massachusetts soldier George Wright wrote to his mother from the Peninsula in July 1862, "The enemy are pretty hard boys and they fight in the woods they do not fite in the field for they are too much cowards for that."[139] But Joel Cook acknowledged that Union soldiers embraced the cover of the woods as much as Confederates did during these engagements, noting that during the march up the Chickahominy riverbank in 1862, the forests were "always a favorite place for combatants, into which one or the other of the opposing forces will always go."[140]

During skirmishes, guerrilla raids, and large-scale battles in forests, soldiers used smoothbore or rifled guns and shot either round or conical

bullets (minié balls) at one another. Although rifled barrels made for greater accuracy and longer range (as the grooves in the barrels spun the bullets), continuous firing often filled the grooves with powder, decreasing accuracy; the low muzzle velocity of both kinds of guns could also result in "looping" bullet trajectories. Thus, even if a soldier aimed steadily, bullets often went astray. These weaponry issues, in addition to the fact that most soldiers on both sides took cover behind trees, meant that Civil War soldiers hit more trees than men during any given engagement.

Marks could not believe the damage that a "storm of bullets" did to Virginia's trees along the Williamsburg road in 1862: "A small sapling tree of about twenty-two feet in length and about the size of a man's arm, I singled out as the one on which to count the number of balls that struck it. I numbered twenty-five musket-balls as having pierced one side of the tree alone."[141] Theodore Allen of the Seventh Ohio Cavalry reported a similar hail of gunfire during the November 1864 Battle of Franklin in Tennessee. In a "small grove of 200 locust trees" that were "about the size of a common bed-post," the trees were "literally cut to pieces by the bullets." Musket fire did so much damage in this small grove that several of the cavalry officers offered a twenty-five-dollar reward to "any person who will find in that grove a Tree or Limb 5 feet long which has not been struck by a bullet."[142] Most soldiers did not realize the extent of the damage until after the battle had ended, but as they heard the bullets hit tree bark and the crack of limbs broken and crashing to the ground, they did have a sense of the enemy's firepower and its effect on southern woodlands. Union soldier Manning Force, fighting in the Vicksburg campaign in 1863, "remember[ed] noticing the forest leaves, cut by rifle balls, falling in thick eddies, still as snow flakes."[143] Musket and rifle fire buried bullets in tree trunks, knocked the leaves from trees, and "tore and slivered" smaller tree branches during the Civil War.[144] But even more trees were killed by shot and shell fired from field artillery and siege guns.

Union and Confederate artillerists used a variety of cannon with different ranges and projectiles. Guns and howitzers were the most common field artillery cannon, as they were light and maneuverable and could fire an assortment of shot and shell at long range and relatively low elevation. Artillerists on the battlefield most often fired solid shot (cast-iron projectiles with no explosive), shells (round, hollow projectiles filled

with powder), spherical case (hollow projectiles filled with powder and between forty and eighty musket balls), and canister (a tin can filled with twenty-seven large iron balls). Solid shot crashed through forests and took off tree limbs with a combination of weight and velocity, while shells, case, and canister exploded, sending pieces of iron shrapnel and bullets flying in every direction. Shell and shot therefore wreaked even more havoc in battlefield woodlands than did minié balls. Robert Knox Sneden noted that "elongated shells from our Gunboats" on the James River during the 1862 Battle of Malvern Hill "burst in the woods. Knocking down trees in swathes."[145] Marks was astonished at the effects of the gunboat's shelling during the same battle: "Great trees were shivered into a thousand fragments, the branches were torn from others and tossed into the heavens, or thrown far into the deep shades."[146] The power of the artillery on both sides of the conflict and its effect on southern forests astounded many soldiers and became common subjects for wartime illustrators. Northern artist Alfred E. Mathews sketched the 1862 Battle of Shiloh, and the subsequent lithograph depicts shells in flight, bursting in the air and breaking massive tree limbs (see fig. 3.16). Giant branches lie scattered over the ground, and several limbs are in midflight, clipped from tree trunks and falling speedily toward the ground.

Some of these tree branches became weapons as they fell, killing soldiers on the ground by crushing or impaling them; soldiers often dodged tree branches as much as bullets, shot, and shell. Like Mathews, Henry Lovie, a newspaper artist for *Frank Leslie's*, depicted this danger in a sketch of the Battle of Shiloh (see fig. 3.17). A soldier in the left foreground of the image, already lying wounded on the ground, looks up helplessly as a shell explodes and shears a giant limb off of a tree. The limb is in midair, rotating so that it will fall clear of the tree but will clearly crush the wounded soldier. The tree trunk, which has taken some other hits, has a gaping hole in one side; one more shot would probably bring it down. Some trees sustained direct hits or were so riddled with shot and shell that they fell over, unable to sustain their own weight any longer; unlucky soldiers sometimes became pinned beneath such trees. Trees could also become killers when ordnance exploded in or around them and set them on fire; the resultant conflagrations often trapped wounded soldiers and

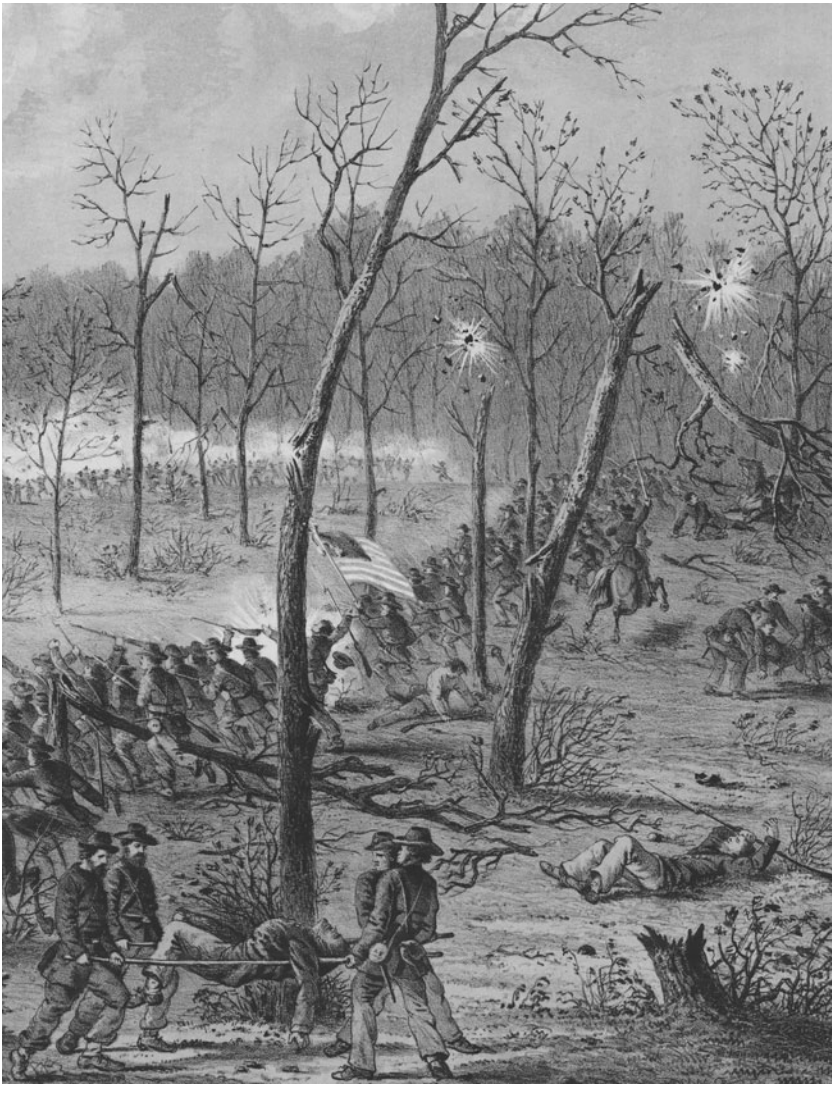

Figure 3.16. Alfred E. Mathews, [lithograph by Ehrgott, Forbriger, and Company], *The Battle of Shiloh, Charge and Taking of a New Orleans Battery by the 14th Regt. Wisconsin Volunteers Monday, April 7, 1862* [detail]. Lithographs Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

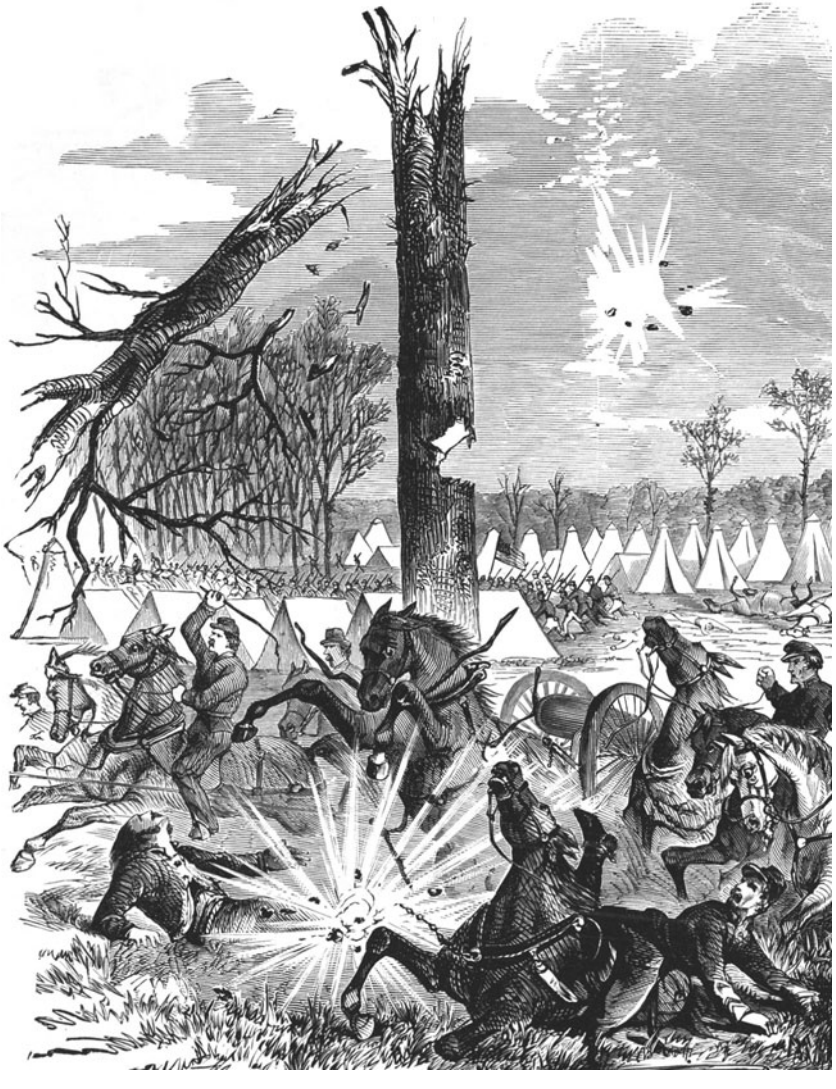

Figure 3.17. Henry Lovie, *Capture of McClernan's Headquarters*, [April 6, 1862] [detail], in *The Soldier in Our Civil War, Abridged Edition: Famous War Pictures Demonstrating the Valor of the Soldier as Displayed on the Battlefield: Sketched on the Spot by Famous War Artists* (New York: Stanley-Bradley, 1893), 122. Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

burned or asphyxiated them. The most famous of these wartime forest fires took place during the Battle of Chancellorsville, which one cavalryman described as "like a picture of hell"; New Hampshire soldier Napoleon Perkins considered himself lucky that his wound prevented him from seeking shelter in those trees. "Perhaps on the whole it was fortunate for me that I fell where I did," he wrote in his memoir, "for if I had succeeded in reaching the woods, I would probably have shared the same fate, for the fire swept through the place I was trying to reach."[147]

Civil War rifles and artillery, long-range and increasingly accurate, took a significant toll on southern forests, especially those along rivers and in Virginia, where the largest Union and Confederate armies clashed. When Joel Cook visited the Fair Oaks battlefield, he was amazed. "Timber originally covered three-fourths of the surface," he noted, "but military operations had converted the whole into a most forbidding wilderness. This destruction gives the most shocking appearance imaginable to a wood, – that of an abandoned waste without any thing to redeem its barrenness."[148] The survival needs of soldiers – warmth, food, and shelter – and the destructive capabilities of military weapons led to the ruination of southern forests and the creation of "a most forbidding wilderness" where pines, oaks, and hemlock had grown in lush profusion only five years earlier. Cook's word use here is intriguing. Most Americans today think of the undisturbed forest as a wilderness, but Cook meant that the war had changed Virginia's woodlands into unusable places, "abandoned wastes" that shocked the senses because they were but a vestige of what they used to be. They were nature's ruins.

It is difficult to determine just how many trees Union and Confederate soldiers destroyed to wage war and subsist between 1861 and 1865; neither the Engineer Corps nor quartermasters kept consistent records of timber they cut or purchased. Frederick Starr's 1865 report for the newly established Department of Agriculture could only describe the devastation as "immense." "Much has been ruined by accidents," he wrote, or "has been removed for military purposes, both by axe and fire." Standing trees and timber already cut were used to build bridges, ships, railroads, and houses; the literal reconstruction of the South "demands a new supply." Starr reported a rumor that many of Virginia's refugees were not returning to their native state "because the war has swept away the

timber"; he worried that the paucity of trees and resultant soil erosion would also prevent immigration to the state.[149]

The consumption of trees can only be roughly calculated based on comments regarding tree scarcity and from soldiers' accounts of acreage felled for various purposes. For example, estimates hold that "between 10 and 20 acres of woodland" were consumed by one campfire annually.[150] If we assume a constant wartime population of 160,000 soldiers in the South (probably a conservative estimate), with these troops grouped into messes averaging 4 men and each mess building one fire a day, 40,000 individual fires would have been burning every day. And if we assume an average of 10 acres of woodland to supply one fire for a year, the Union and Confederate armies annually consumed at least 400,000 acres of trees for firewood alone. Similarly, it seems likely that a mile of corduroy roadway would require at least 60,000 board feet of timber, or 200 mature trees, and as Horace Morse noted, Union troops cutting trees around Port Hudson during a short siege transformed 1,500 acres of forest into a landscape of stumps. It is much harder to estimate how many trees died in battle; in fact, some trees survived despite being riddled with shot and shell. Bark grew over bullets as the trees healed themselves. Overall, it seems reasonable to assert that 2,000,000 southern oaks, pines, maples, and cedars were converted into roads, bridges, houses, chapels, fortifications, abatis, and chevaux-de-frise during the Civil War and that another 25,000 ultimately died from their war wounds.[151]

Most observers saw these ruined trees as definitive signs of war. Virginian Emma Mordecai, who visited Spotsylvania days after Union and Confederate troops passed her house on marches that would culminate in the 1864 siege of Petersburg, remarked in her diary that "we saw some large trees topped by cannon balls, & others badly cut by them." Although the country looked less devastated than she had expected, "everything looked indeed like War."[152] But these landscapes of clearing and ghost forests were ultimately ephemeral. As camps were abandoned, saplings began to push upward among the stumps and splintered trunks. At the same moment, discussions about the ways that the war's technologies both created and destroyed landscapes faded into silence. Instead, Americans focused on individual trees and their ability to provide access not to the meanings of large-scale violence but to the sanctity of the past.

Wounded Trees and the Marks of War

When J. T. Trowbridge traveled along roads and across bridges built by Union and Confederate troops on his way to battlefields large (Gettysburg) and small (South Mountain), he described "wayside trees" "riddled with bullets." He found the oak, chestnut, black walnut, and hickory trees very beautiful, "with their great, silent trunks, all so friendly, their clear vistas and sun-spotted space." He came to recognize battlefields by their "boundaries" of scarred trees and was deeply affected by the contrast between these "disfigured" pines and the hollyhocks and peach trees blooming around the ruined foundation of Judith Henry's house at Bull Run. But Trowbridge noticed signs of recovery as well. Virginia's "old fields" were covered with "briers, weeds, and broom-sedge, – often with a thick growth of infant pines coming up like grass." It was commonplace to find such second- (or sometimes third- or fourth-) growth forests, dominated by pines, in this area. "Much of the land devastated by the war lies in this condition," Trowbridge noted, and nature would reclaim it in the near future: "In two or three years, these young pines shoot up their green plumes five or six feet high. In ten years there is a young forest."[153]

Even during the war, southerners found comfort in the ways that nature regenerated itself after such violent assaults. A correspondent for the *Richmond Enquirer* reported from the Shenandoah Valley in April 1864 that instead of bringing destruction to the southern landscape, the campfire "seems to warm the soil into fresh productiveness." After two years of almost constant army occupation, Valley residents were looking forward to a bountiful summer, as "nature has been ceaselessly at work healing up the wounds which havoc 'storming across the war convulsed earth' has left in this region."[154] Despite her despair about Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Grace Brown Elmore was encouraged to see the trees that had survived the conflagration in Columbia: "As Mother says," she wrote in her diary, "there are things the Yankees can't destroy, the works of God, the trees and the flowers, the sunlight and the blue sky."[155]

Nature endured – that much was certain. But it was also true that while the war's violence had ruined millions of southern trees in four years, plenty of them remained. The American Southeast and much of the

landscape over which the Civil War armies marched and fought was the most densely wooded region of the United States in 1861. And in 1873, almost every state in the former Confederacy still had more than 20 percent tree cover.[156] In Georgia, Sherman's troops made themselves and hard-war tactics famous but had comparatively little impact on the trees, probably because the army moved so quickly through them. During the Atlanta campaign, Confederate soldiers standing on the top of Kennesaw Mountain saw "an almost unbroken forest stretching away – to the right to the Chattahoochee; to the left to Lost mountain, and beyond." The armies were obscured, "embosomed in the umbrageous shade of that apparently impenetrable and boundless forest."[157] In 1873, between 50 and 90 percent of mountain surfaces through which the great armies of the Southeast fought during the summer of 1864 remained covered with trees.[158] So much timber was left in the southern states, in fact, that the great American lumber companies turned to these relatively untapped resources at the end of the nineteenth century after they had cut over the rich forests of the Upper Midwest.[159]

Instead of mourning the loss of forests, then, Civil War soldiers fondly remembered the landscape of war that they built using the limbs, branches, and trunks of trees. They wrote lengthy descriptions of huts and earthworks and sent home sketches in their letters; they often enclosed leaves or twigs or larger pieces of bark as souvenirs of their life in camp and in battle. Both during and after the war, soldiers and veterans saw trees (and their fragments) as another kind of resource – as objects that provided access to the past, a vital link to the landscape of war they had created. In 1888, the owners of the Exchange Hotel in Fredericksburg, Virginia, opened an exhibition of Civil War relics (486 objects in all) that included 90 battle logs: fragments of trees that had been cut from the major battlefields of Virginia, most of them by J. T. Owens, a professional relic hunter. Some of the battle logs were curiosities that reflected the continued fascination with the impact of artillery on battlefield forests: one section of pine cut from the woods at Spotsylvania Court House contained an eight-pound rifled shell that "entered perpendicularly with the tree. The Shell was probably ricocheting and was in this upright position when it struck the tree." Other battle logs were "witnesses" to great

moments in important battles. One section of oak in the Exchange exhibition had a Union shell embedded in it thirty feet above the ground. The tree "stood on Jackson's line" at Fredericksburg, as if it were a Confederate soldier, defending the position "where Meade's Pennsylvania Reserves broke through at 4 p.m."[160]

The Jackson oak on display as part of the Exchange Hotel exhibit was a veteran of the war, a direct connection to the action that took place at Fredericksburg. The belief that, because their lives spanned many generations, trees were "witnesses to history" was long-standing in the United States.[161] Antebellum Americans saw trees as living links between themselves and the great events of the colonial period and the revolutionary era.[162] In May 1862, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* published an article on "American Historical Trees" that provided descriptions and sketches of eighteen trees, both northern and southern, "about which memories cluster like trailing vines." The author argued that ancient trees were the nation's tangible connection to the past and, in the relative absence of classical ruins, proof of the continent's antiquity.[163] As landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing put it, "If we have neither old castles nor old associations, we have at least, here and there, old trees that can teach us lessons of antiquity, not less instructive and poetical than the ruins of a past age."[164] Because of their longevity and their presence in the past, trees should, as the author of the *Harper's* article urged, "command the reverence of every American."[165]

These veteran trees were also compelling because the terminology that they shared with humans – trunks, limbs, roots – encouraged the association with people, especially those who were wounded and died in the war. Just as they collected photographs of friends and family members, soldiers and civilians pasted into war albums images of veteran trees.[166] A stereograph, *Wounded Trees*, taken near Spotsylvania, makes these emotional connections quite clear (see fig. 3.18). A tree in the left foreground dominates the image, especially when it is viewed in three dimensions. But the tree is visually linked to the whitened skull that sits among the leaves and underbrush to the right. The wounded tree and the dead man sit together in the ruined forest of the South, disintegrating slowly into the soil. Such visual conflations encouraged the view that veteran trees

Figure 3.18. *Wounded Trees within Grant's Lines, North Side of the Plank Road, Opposite Cemetery No. 3, with Human Remains*, [1864–65]. Box 277, "Civil War General," Stereographs Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

symbolized both man's vulnerability and nature's endurance. Some of these battlefield trees therefore became tourist attractions, especially after the establishment of national battlefield parks starting in the 1890s. The copse of trees on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg, which had meaning for southerners as the high-water mark of the Confederacy and for northerners as the site at which Union soldiers turned back the tide of the Confederate invasion, became a sanctified place in the battlefield landscape – that is, after battlefield preservationist John Bachelder convinced local farmers to stop cutting the trees for firewood.[167]

For as much as they revered nature's war veterans, neither soldiers nor civilians had many qualms about cutting down veteran trees either during or after the war. They cut and pulled down limbs as souvenirs from the plantations of famous Virginians (especially Arlington, Mount Vernon, and Virginia's White House, all abodes of George Washington and his family) and from spots of surrender. In his *Memoirs*, Ulysses S. Grant wrote about the stunted oak under which Confederate general John C. Pemberton surrendered the city of Vicksburg in July 1863. In just a few days, most of the tree had disappeared, "the fragments taken as trophies." Since the end of the war, Grant noted sardonically, "the same tree has furnished as many cords of wood, in the shape of trophies, as 'The True Cross.'"[168] Even when separated from the places that gave them meaning, such mementoes were seen as links to the glorious past. Just as they had provided material for roads, camps, and fortifications, southern trees – intact or fragmented – endowed the landscape of war with historical depth and meaning.[169]

Trees moved, housed, and protected soldiers during battle. The stumps and ghost forests left in the wake of the marching, camping, and fighting armies during the Civil War suggest how the technologies of warfare shaped landscapes and transformed their meanings. The ruination of southern forests was a common wartime activity, and soldiers and civilians saw it as a wartime necessity. Also, while these ruined forests astonished observers during the war, they did not continue to do so. The first- and second-growth forests that soldiers destroyed during marches, camp building, and battle became second- and third-growth forests within two

generations. They were different woodlands, to be sure – more pines, for example – but their strong limbs and soft needles masked the marks of war. One Union soldier was so sure of nature's power to erase the violence done to it during the Civil War that he concluded, "The pines will someday, not far off, conquer Virginia if we do not."[170] The ruins of trees, like those of southern cities and plantations, were eventually erased from the landscape, and most Americans did not think of preserving southern forests after witnessing the war's destruction of them. Instead, the shards of wartime trees became revered objects, embodying links to the war's lived past. They were fragments to own and to display, traces of the war's destructive power sitting in the parlors and cabinets of veterans and battlefield tourists.

One such war fragment is a three-foot-high tree trunk, smooth and shiny but for a single shot lodged in its surface. North Carolina artillerists fired that shot from a battery along the Emmitsburg road on July 2, 1863, in an assault on the western slope of Big Round Top during the Battle of Gettysburg. The tree withstood the cannon fire and lived for almost half a century longer before falling in the high winds of a September 1906 thunderstorm. It was then removed from Big Round Top, and the section containing the shot was cut away. Workers peeled its bark, varnished its surface to ensure its preservation, and then attached a plaque explaining the tree's provenance and the likely origin of the shot. Only then did they mount a bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln on its top.[171] This battle log, shellacked, labeled, and displayed, was a record of the war, a representation of its violence and the power of nature to survive it.

And it is fitting that a representation of Lincoln's body should be attached to a Gettysburg battle log. For in 1838, twenty-five years before his most famous utterance on that most famous of Civil War battlegrounds, Lincoln gave a speech to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, in which he lamented the passing of so many Revolutionary War heroes. "They are gone," he intoned. "They were a forest of oaks; but the all-resistless hurricane has swept over them, and left only, here and there, a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage; unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few gentle breezes, and to combat, with its mutilated limbs, a few more ruder storms, and then to sink, and be no more."

To Lincoln and to many other Civil War Americans, living histories were carried not only in the trunks of trees but in the bodies of men; both bore the marks of the war's technologies, the testimony of experiences under fire on the battlefield. Both trees and men's bodies became wartime ruins, blown into pieces that despite their fragmentation could be "read and understood alike by all."[172]

FOUR

Empty Sleeves and Government Legs

The Ruins of Men

As nineteen-year-old Napoleon Perkins set up his caisson in an orchard to the right of the Chancellors' house in the Wilderness, Confederates opened up on the Union lines, and "it was something frightful the way their shells and canister sweped our lines." Single canister shots took out entire gun teams as leaves and blossoms from the orchard's apple trees drifted down to the ground, settling gently on the bleeding bodies of men and horses. A shell whistled into the lines and cut the battery's corporal in two and then another hit Perkins's horse in the right foreleg. As he moved to unhitch the animal, Perkins too was shot; a ball entered his right leg above the knee, tearing the skin and muscle and shattering the femur. He began to walk, then crawl, to the woods behind the house, trying to escape from the Confederate gunfire. As shot and shell continued to fall around him, he passed out at the side of a road, covered with dust and sand.[1]

Perkins was discovered and transported to a field hospital and subsequently transferred to a ward in Washington, D.C. Two weeks after his injury, surgeons examined the young man's leg and determined that

without an amputation, he only had three days to live. Although he worried that "my legs and hands are all I have to get a living with," he agreed to the procedure. After the surgery, Perkins gradually recovered his strength and hobbled down the hospital corridors, making friends with other amputees in the ward and trying on their prosthetic legs. After he had relearned to walk on a prosthetic leg made by George B. Jewett, Perkins returned home to New Hampshire.[2] Near the end of his life, he confessed that "no one except those who have lost a leg as near the body as I have can realize what it means" but swore, "I would go through the same experience again. Our country is worth thousands of such lives as mine."[3]

Perkins was one of more than a million men whose bodies were torn and shattered during the American Civil War. His wounded body – ragged and bleeding, its internal workings exposed to public view – and later the absence of a limb that his prosthetic leg both concealed and revealed were material realities of the war and representations of it. As Elaine Scarry has famously and simply put it, the object of war is to wound and kill people. Thus, the injured body has an "incontestable reality" – some soldiers were maimed and in pain, while others were dead.[4] But injured bodies, like other wartime ruins, were also "an almost infinitely flexible symbolic resource," revealing the values and beliefs of a social world shared by all Americans.[5] The Civil War transformed northern and southern bodies, creating unprecedented numbers of ruined men. Their disembodied limbs and dismembered bodies represented the destructive and constructive nature of war and became sites on which Americans inscribed a range of social anxieties – including concerns about the impact of warfare on masculinity, the production of "machine men," and the opportunities that wartime provided for fraudulent behavior. Men went to war to make something of themselves. But as minié balls whizzed through the air and shells exploded into hundreds of fragments, the war's technologies unmade men.

Blown Apart: The Wounded and the Dead

Leander Cram, an orderly sergeant in the Thirtieth Maine, was shocked to see injured men come into camp hospitals after one battle in 1864; they

were "wounded in all conceivable places and ways."[6] The evolving weaponry of the American Civil War ensured that northern and southern soldiers could shoot bullets, shot, and shell faster and more accurately than in previous wars. In the 1840s, gunsmiths began to rifle the barrels of muskets, cutting grooves into them that would propel ammunition more quickly and precisely. The shift from muzzle-loading to breech-loading increased the pace of firing during battles; charging soldiers who had faced only one volley from soldiers defending their positions now faced three or four times as many shots. Wilder Dwight wrote to his mother in astonishment after a March 1862 battle at Winchester, "30 men in Confederate homespun shot in the head lie in this wood. . . . Everything shows how easy it is to kill a great many men by shooting very often!"[7]

Soldiers loaded and fired expansive, conical bullets made of soft lead with a hollow base; these minié balls flattened on impact, shredding flesh and muscle and shattering bones.[8] Union physician Henry Janes attested to the violent impact of bullets on the human body, noting that they amounted to a "terrible, crippling, smashing invasion of the sacred machine, splitting bones like green twigs and extravasating blood in a vast volume of tissue about the path of the projectile."[9] The force of the balls was such that they often propelled clothing, dirt, and other objects into the body. In July 1861 one Union soldier in the Second Maryland had placed a wooden stopper (usually used to keep rain, snow, and dirt out of musket barrels) in the pocket of his trousers while marching to the Bull Run battlefield. During the battle, "a bullet had broken [the stopper] in two and driven the splintery fragments into his leg." His regimental surgeon used his knife to draw out both the stopper fragments and the bullet, much to the soldier's relief.[10] Minié balls could also be modified to create even more havoc in the human body. The editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* were outraged when they heard about the new "bullet bomb" that Union soldiers had been using in the battles of 1862. The hollow part of the bullet was filled with explosive material, so that the ball, "on entering a man's body is exploded instantly by meeting with a bone, and perhaps even by such resistance only as the flesh presents. The consequence is a most ghastly wound is produced." A Confederate soldier, hit in the arm with a bullet bomb during the Battle of Seven Pines, "had the flesh torn in shreds from the bone, by the explosion which ensued."[11]

Soldiers on both sides were clearly shocked by the kinds of wounds that new muskets and rifles could create, writing often in letters and diaries about bullets "tearing" and "shattering" men's arms, legs, and heads. Men were horrified to find both friends and strangers mangled, with at least one man shot as many as forty-seven times. Such sights left soldiers sick and despondent, almost dumb with horror.[12] Minié balls caused 94 percent of Union injuries, yet soldiers wrote as much or more about the ways that artillery ammunition (solid shot and explosive shells) dismembered the human body, likely because these projectiles – much larger and heavier than bullets – produced the most spectacular corporeal damage.[13]

Batteries were important tactical components of clashes between armies and urban siege operations, and rifling technologies had also increased the speed, distance, and accuracy of artillery in the early years of the war. Soldiers could often see incoming shot and shells – tracking shells by the light of their fuses – but had difficulty dodging both types of projectiles. Solid shot sometimes hit the ground and stayed there, plowing huge holes in the earth and throwing dirt and rocks in the air. Massachusetts soldier Samuel Cabot Jr. wrote to his sister from Yorktown that "it is astonishing to me that so much iron can be flying about without doing more harm."[14] More often, however, shot hit the ground or trees and ricocheted, taking out men, wagons, horses, trees, and breastworks. Alabama private Paul Turner Vaughan, whose regiment was guarding Richmond in April 1863, watched Union shells "making their beautiful curves (plainly seen by the burning fuse) when one bursted about a hundred yards off, a fragment striking the ground just in front of us and rebounding struck [a] young man in the leg."[15] Newton Hartshorn wrote to his friend, Annie Baltzley, that "the way the 100 pound shot and shell whistled around our heads not more than 10 or 15 feet away was a caution." Two days earlier, his lieutenant "was sitting at a table writing when a shell came tore his tent to pieces killed a private took off his own arm, and scattered his papers to the four winds."[16]

Shells were even more devastating than shot, exploding into fragments in the air or on contact. Canister (projectiles filled with minié balls or shrapnel) dispersed in all directions when detonated. As tradition-bound generals on both sides continued to march masses of men into the teeth of these new forms of artillery ordnance, casualty rates soared. Greely

Curtis, a Massachusetts cavalryman, wrote to his Aunt Fanny about the suffering of Union troops taken down by Confederate batteries at Chancellorsville: "Only think, Miss Frances, of solid columns of men, each column about 100 feet wide, close together advancing to take a small hill when 40 guns as close to each other as they could stand were firing into them with canister & all sorts of the most scattering shot." Such fire took off heads, arms, and legs with large pieces of shrapnel, similarly dismembering entire regiments: "The heads of the column fairly melted away."[17]

Soldiers at times did not see these explosive projectiles coming. Both Union and Confederate soldiers buried shells in roadways or sank them in rivers, hoping to slow the enemy's advance. James Julius Marks was aghast at this use of mines and torpedoes and the kinds of deaths they caused on the Peninsula in 1862. In one instance, a soldier, "taking his seat with his companions on a green knoll, near to a well, saw lying at his feet a pocket-knife. As he picked this up he found around it a small cord; without thinking of the concealed danger, he gave the knife a sudden jerk to break the cord." The explosion that followed, Marks recorded sadly, "blew the soldier into a hundred fragments."[18] Confederates also left explosives along the roads or in the walls of forts as they retreated. David Henry Fay, a private in Company G of the Eighty-First New York, entered the Confederate works at Yorktown in early May 1862 and "saw several torpedoes placed in the road. The Reg in advance of us had 6 men wounded and 1 killed by steping upon one."[19] Rhode Island artillerist William Sabin, who participated in the siege of Fort Gregg in South Carolina, was horrified by the "sickening sight" he encountered when he toured the fort after its fall in September 1863: "In one pile lay 4 dead secesh and [to] these those kind hearted rebels who talk about civilised warfare, had fixed a torpedo, so when we moved them, it would blow up and kill all around." The torpedo did its work, and "scattered about the fort was men literally blown to pieces. Arm in one place leg in another."[20]

Although antebellum Americans were intimately acquainted with death, as Drew Gilpin Faust has noted, "the patterns to which they were accustomed were in significant ways different from those the war would introduce. . . . The war took young, healthy men and rapidly, often instantly destroyed them."[21] The suddenness of these injuries and deaths in addition to the immense numbers of bleeding bodies appalled observers.

Americans expected bodies to be whole, unmarked by violence. When injured, scarred, or blown into "one hundred fragments," these wartime bodies were unruly and therefore generated copious commentary from soldiers and civilians alike.[22]

Many Civil War soldiers were quite frank in describing the wounded and the dead, clearly captivated as well as repulsed by corporeal desolation. In the fall of 1862, Union private Robert Knox Sneden stumbled along the "the sunken road, or bloody lane" at Antietam, which "was half filled with Corpses of the 50th Georgia Rebel Regiment. Some were in heaps, one upon each other, showing where a shell had burst among them, others hung over fences or were head downwards in the rifle pit naturally formed by the sunken road, dismembered arms and legs were scattered about."[23] The mass of bodies, promiscuous in their disarticulation, was a record of the immense power of artillery's destructiveness; these bodies "showed where the shell had burst among them." Other soldiers wrote of whole bodies transformed into heaps of body parts. Iowa soldier Cyrus Boyd saw one former Confederate behind a log on the battlefield of Shiloh; the man was "piled up into a mass of skull, arms, some toes and the remains of a butternut suit."[24] For many soldiers, writing in such detail about the ways the war destroyed bodies may have been cathartic. For others, these images appear as part of a longer catalog of the war's horrors and sometimes as a way to criticize the military strategies of generals and politicians.[25]

The sudden profusion of body parts in Civil War battlefields also resulted in the proliferation of wounded and injured bodies in the visual culture of midcentury America. Many lithographs and illustrations appearing in wartime publications or issued as single-sheet images attempted a modicum of realism in their depictions of battlefield slaughter. Colorists for Currier and Ives's press dabbed thick lines of red ink into the head, chest, and leg wounds of Union and Confederate soldiers in battle lithographs; some patriotic sheet music covers depict men bleeding from the head or from the jagged, open wound of an arm torn off.[26] Realistic and often gruesome images of destroyed bodies circulated in newspapers as well. In an illustration of the Union bombardment of the Confederate Fort Henry that appeared in Frank Leslie's *Pictorial History of the War*, the artist depicts southern soldiers defending the fort from Grant's troops in

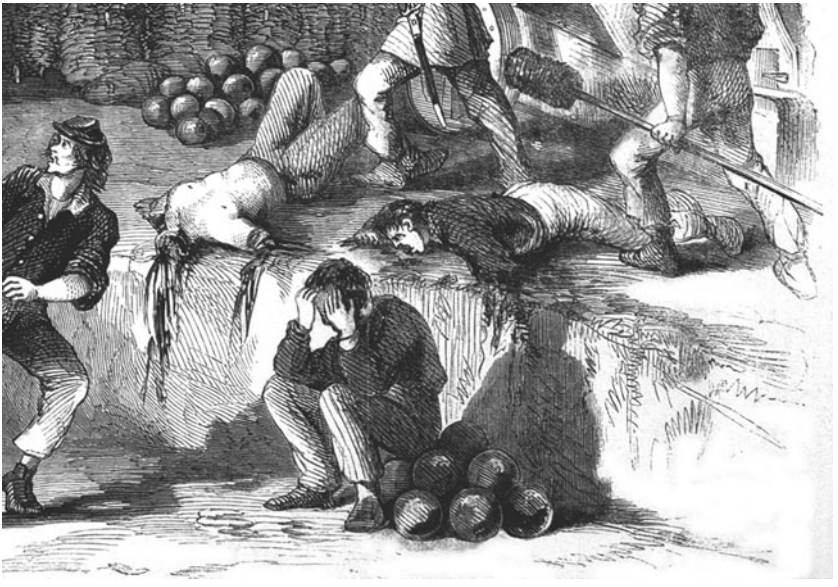

Figure 4.1. *Bombardment of Fort Henry – Interior View – Bursting of a Rifled 42-Pound Gun*, *Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the War of 1861*, vol. 18, ed. E. G. Squier (New York: Leslie, n.d.), 281. Illustrated Periodicals Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

February 1862 (see fig. 4.1). Shot and shell fly through the air, and a Confederate gun explodes within the fort. Two figures in the right foreground show the marks of this explosion: one is missing an arm and lies bleeding out on the fort's floor. A piece of gun shrapnel has blown off the other man's arms and head.

These illustrations tended to be more graphic than photographs of soldiers' bodies, which were sold as single images and double-framed stereographs or displayed in exhibits. The most prominent and spectacular of these exhibits was Mathew Brady's *The Dead at Antietam,* which opened to the public in October 1862. Brady, who had established a photography studio on Broadway in New York in the 1850s, was the city's most prominent photographer. He produced images of politicians, bankers, and poets and presented them to a viewing public in his gallery, hoping that his visitors would be so inspired by the sight of this "Valhalla of celebrities" that they would hire him to take their photographs. But when the war began, Brady and his corps of photographers, including

Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan, traveled to the battlefields to take "the likeness of 'grim-visaged' war," which one *New York Times* reviewer noted was "no holiday business."[27]

Brady and his photographers depicted a wide range of the war's landscapes and many of its ruins – the shells of urban buildings and plantation houses; shards of trees, still oozing sap in the wake of a battle; soldiers' camps. These images were meant to create as complete a record of war as possible to accumulate "the materials of history."[28] They also presented for the first time to the American public images of wounded and dead bodies, often en masse. As several scholars have recently pointed out, antebellum Americans were used to seeing dead bodies in photographs. The genre of memorial imagery followed quickly on the heels of the invention of daguerreotypy, and postmortem photographs, particularly of children, were often found in middle-class parlors in the 1840s and 1850s. But these mourning photographs were privately consumed. These "sixth-plate" daguerreotypes (2.75 × 3.25 inches) could be held in one hand "so as to accommodate the personal contemplation of a loved one's image."[29] What Brady offered to viewers in *The Dead at Antietam* was an altogether different confrontation with wounded and dead bodies. It was a public presentation of masses of unidentified dead men, vivid and terrifyingly "real." Responses to these images conveyed the extent to which these ruined men disturbed and unsettled Civil War Americans.

For the *New York Times* reviewer who wrote the most famous account of Brady's Antietam exhibit, photographic images of the dead had a terrifying clarity and immediacy and therefore an emotional resonance that lists of the wounded and killed could not achieve. While "each of these little names that the printer struck off so lightly last night . . . represents a bleeding mangled corpse," he confessed, "There is nothing very terrible to us . . . in the list." Photographs of these same mangled corpses, however, drew in the viewer with a mixture of fascination and revulsion. The response was both emotional and physical. In Brady's gallery, the reporter noted, visitors stopped walking and became still, ceased their chatting, and bent "down to look in the pale faces of the dead, chained by the strange spell that dwells in dead men's eyes."[30] It is as if the viewers sought to make their living bodies in some way commensurate to the dead through both stillness and contortion.

That they should peer into "the pale faces of the dead" was not unusual; during the antebellum period, most Americans believed that a person's face revealed his or her character. The popular discourses of phrenology (discerning correspondences between the topography of the skull and mental faculties) and physiognomy (assigning "characterological significance" to anatomic features of the face and head) had put forth the argument that, as Marcus Aurelius Root put it in 1864, "the face is to a man what the dial is to a clock, or a table of contents to a book, viz., the index of the soul."[31] Root was a writer and a photographer, and he deemed it the responsibility of the heliographic artist to capture the true expression of a man's face, as it "is the revelation of the real man."[32] Those who viewed Brady's images of dead soldiers at Antietam, then, were searching for "the real man," for a hint of character in the pale faces of the dead. But many observers found Brady's photographs inscrutable and therefore horrifying. The *New York Times* reviewer was so unsettled by the notion that the war dead could not be assessed or identified that he imagined a scene in which a woman "bending over" these photographs "should recognise a husband, son, or a brother in the still, lifeless lines of bodies." The reviewer did not want to be in the gallery when such an event occurred, but if such identification were in fact possible, the experience of viewing these disconcerting bodies would then shift to a process of mourning, which would have given the woman—and perhaps the writer as well—a sense of resolution and peace.[33] But this transformation did not take place: there were no captions specific enough and often no facial features distinct enough to enable the identification of the men in the photographs.

For many Americans, both the material reality and the visual images of dismembered bodies and disembodied limbs were horribly novel sights, shocking evidence of the power of the war's killing technologies to obliterate men. The destruction of soldiers' bodies and the resultant inability to identify them brought about a crisis of mourning as well as of identity and masculinity. As Bostonian Greely Curtis picked his way through the debris of a cavalry fight in June 1863, he suddenly pulled up and did not want to believe his eyes. He saw a dead body "and for a minute thought that it was Hig. On a/c of the hat and clothes, though the face was so gashed that I couldn't recognize it."[34] The body did not belong to his friend Higginson, who had been wounded four times in the fight but

survived. But Curtis's moment of confusion and anxiety reveals, as do Brady's Antietam photographs, the ways that during the war, men were rendered unidentifiable as individuals and often as humans. Sneden described the dead at Vicksburg as abstract forms: some bodies "lay headless, others without arms or legs having bled to death. The Minnie ball had made clear holes. The shell, its horrid rent, and the grape great holes and gashes."[35] Sneden was overwhelmed by the "clear holes" made by minié balls and the jagged and gaping rents of the shell. They annihilated the body, replacing it with open wounds. Edward Samuel Duffey, a Virginia artillerist, took a walk around the Second Manassas battlefield on August 31, 1862, and saw "a lot of men's limbs lying close to the wounded men."[36] The body parts of men were strewn across fields, lodged in trees, and half-buried in swamp mud and thus became "disassociated from the bodies to which they belonged, transformed into objects of revulsion instead of essential parts of people."[37]

When soldiers were blown apart, they lost their distinctive character, a major component of their masculinity. As several historians have recently argued, the Civil War provided white (and later black) men with the opportunity to demonstrate their masculinity in a variety of venues, including recruitment offices, camps, battlefields, and hospitals.[38] Men on both sides of the conflict were encouraged to enlist and fight to support their country and protect their families, but political, military, and even poetic appeals were also couched in the rhetoric of masculine individualism. By fighting, men proved their worth through intensely individual acts of physical aggression and bravery.[39] These distinctive acts and soldiers' identities as individuals and men, however, necessitated recognition—from fellow soldiers on the battlefield and family members on the home front. Bodily ruination often prevented these acts of recognition, putting the wounded or dead soldier's masculinity in peril. Sneden lamented this loss of identity among the ruined bodies of war. The dead along the lines at Vicksburg, he noted regretfully, "were so shockingly mangled with shells, and covered with blood as to be unrecognizable by their nearest friends."[40] After stumbling onto bodies "swollen, black, and hideously unnatural" on Little Round Top on July 5, 1863, Vermont soldier Wilber Fisk could not believe the transformation he was witnessing. "My God, could it be possible that such were lively and active like other

people so shortly previous," he noted sadly, "with friends, parents, brothers and sisters to lament their loss."[41] These bodies, Fisk seems to suggest, are no longer like other people; they have lost their singularity, a profoundly disturbing notion to Americans on both sides of the conflict. Such abstractions of body parts and the prevention of their restoration to the whole body provoked anxiety during the war, prompting northern physician S. Weir Mitchell to wonder, "How much of a man would have to be lost in order that he should lose any portion of his sense of individuality?"[42]

For Fisk, ruined men were "hideously unnatural," and other soldiers were equally disturbed by the transformation of men into remains that not only lost individuality but also seemed inhuman. As Sneden made his way through the trampled cornfield at Antietam, he saw the bodies of both Union and Confederate soldiers, "many so covered with dust, torn, crushed, and trampled, that all the vestiges of human remains were nearly obliterated."[43] Dragging ambulances and other wagons through the swamps of the Chickahominy during the Peninsula campaign, James Julius Marks passed through bogs in which were mired "various objects, so encased in mud that it was impossible to tell what they were, – they might be logs of wood, heads of horses, feet of mules, or bodies of men."[44] The killing technologies of war blew men apart and rendered their remains as anonymous and inconsequential as those of animals or trees.

This loss of individual identity, masculinity, and even humanity resonated deeply for an American public – both northern and southern – that invested the core of citizenship in the whole, white male body. The expansion of suffrage to the vast majority of white men during the 1830s and 1840s fundamentally changed U.S. political culture, investing it in the "power of the people," which in turn was specifically embodied in white men. So how much of a man could be lost without losing his citizenship? That wounded soldiers destabilized beliefs about citizenship is evident in an 1864 political cartoon produced in Boston (see fig. 4.2). In this image, a Union soldier who has lost his right leg, left arm, and one eye attempts to vote for George McClellan in the presidential election. Two older men who preside over the ballot box discuss what to do with this "copperhead's" ballot. One worries that "we shall have trouble if that soldier is not allowed to vote," but the other dismisses the fear, saying, "Just turn around, you must pretend you see nothing of the kind." The

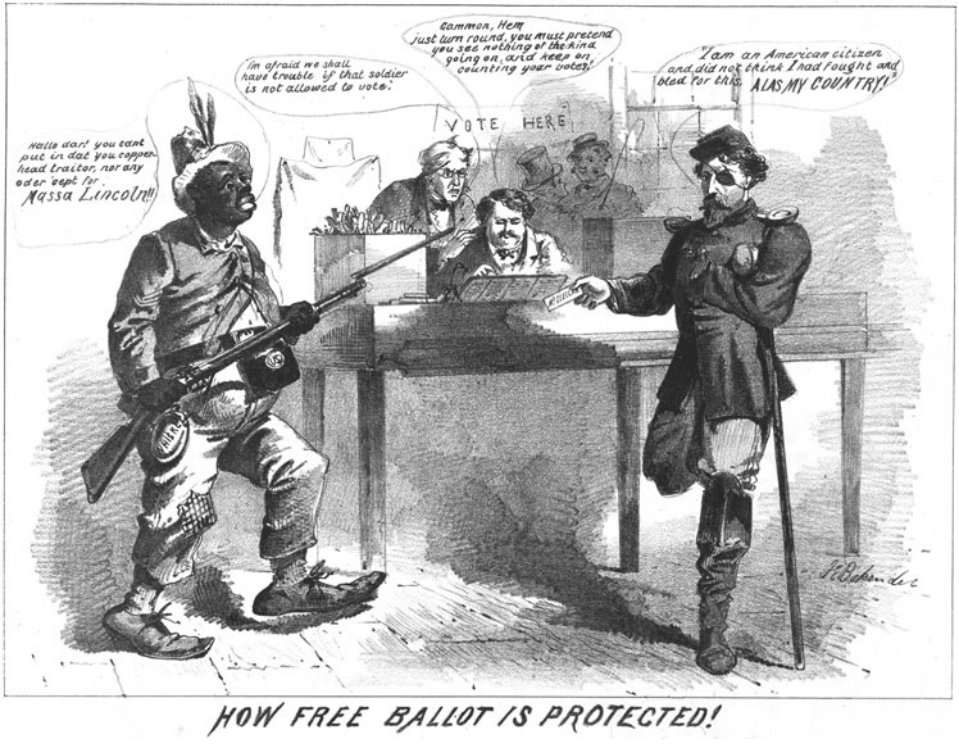
Hallo dar! you cant put in dat you copperhead traitor, nor any oder kept for Massa Lincoln!!!
I'm afraid me shall have trouble if that soldier is not allowed to vote.
Cammon, Hem just turn round, you must pretend you see nothing of the kind going on, and keep on counting your votes!
VOTE HERE
"I am an American citizen and did not think I had fought and bled for this. ALAS MY COUNTRY!"
HOW FREE BALLOT IS PROTECTED!

Figure 4.2. Joseph E. Baker, *How Free Ballot Is Protected!*, 1864. Prints and Photographs Department, Boston Athenaeum, Boston.

amputee veteran protests, "I am an American citizen, and did not think I had fought and bled for this. Alas my country!" The cartoonist clearly means to expose the potential corruption in the election, which was the first to allow soldiers to vote from the field, and the bias toward Lincoln at voting locations. But this image also utilizes the figure of the ruined man – the war amputee – to dramatize the connections among men, their bodies, and their citizenship. The soldier, after all, asserts that he has fought and bled – sacrificed his limbs – to retain his national identity. That the loss of limbs might rob men of their citizenship was one of many anxieties circulating around the soldier's body during the Civil War.

This cartoon also shows another figure whose relationship to the nation was similarly unstable during the conflict. Approaching the amputee veteran on the left is a black soldier wearing an ill-fitting Union coat, patched

pants, and ammunition belt and carrying a gun. This soldier protests the "copperhead traitor's" vote for McClellan. To position an amputee veteran next to an emancipated slave had a specific and powerful meaning in a society that had embraced slavery for more than three hundred years.[45] White Americans had argued for the inferiority of black bodies through medical discourses since the early eighteenth century and had enacted this inferiority through acts of violence against those bodies, both male and female.[46] The black body's flesh "serves as its primary narrative"; the body testifies to its enslaved status through its wounds and its scars, particularly those made by the great icon and instrument of violence within slavery: the whip.[47] For white men serving in the Civil War, the very real possibility that they would be blown apart or would return home with wounds and scars created fears that such injuries would reduce them to the status of slaves, without individuality or humanity.

This fear became a reality in Brady's and other photographic galleries, where in addition to photographs of famous Americans, daguerreotypists had displayed images of slaves, criminals, and Native Americans. These images were meant not to inspire viewers or to drive business to the photographer's studio but to visually record racial and class inferiority. They played on the cultural discourses of physiognomy and phrenology to create a "racialized understanding of character" that was invested in bodies marked by physical difference.[48] In 1846, Eliza Farnham, matron of the women's prison at Sing Sing, commissioned Brady to make a series of portraits of inmates; these and other daguerreotypes of social and racial "others" allowed viewers to "recognize" the potential dangerous character of strangers in an increasingly crowded and urbanizing America. Such images also functionally generated the typology of the "criminal body."[49] Daguerreotypes of the bodies of slaves also circulated in the public culture of galleries and in private photographic albums. The images that J. T. Zealy took of South Carolina slaves for scientist Louis Agassiz in 1850 had a purpose similar to images of criminals; through these photographs of naked black bodies bearing the scars of slavery, Agassiz hoped to demonstrate "the eternal characteristics" of this group, rendering the black body pathological.[50] When Brady and others displayed images of soldiers' wounded and dead bodies, with clothing in disarray, dirty faces, and glazed eyes, these bodies were more aligned with those of criminals and

slaves than with the whole, distinguished, normative heads and shoulders of senators, generals, and bankers. Such associations threatened to further imperil the character and identity of wounded and dead white soldiers.

But of course, these pictures became more complicated when these black slaves became soldiers. As the Union Army approached their plantations or occupied their cities, many slaves took advantage of the military presence and absconded with themselves, putting their already scarred bodies in harm's way for a chance at freedom and American citizenship. As the *Harper's Weekly* triptych *A Typical Negro* makes clear, the male slave's transformation to contraband and then to soldier was an embodied one (see fig. 4.3). In these images, Gordon, a fugitive slave from Mississippi, poses for photographs; the first depicts "the man as he entered our lines, with clothes torn and covered with mud and dirt from his long race through the swamps and bayous." The second "shows him as he underwent the surgical examination previous to being mustered into the service – his back furrowed and scarred with the traces of a whipping administered on Christmas-day last." The third image "represents him in United States uniform, bearing the musket and prepared for duty."[51] This set of illustrations emphasizes the transformation of this slave into a soldier, exploring "the idea that the war brought a fundamental transformation to black male identity." These before-and-after illustrations became "a primary mode of discussing African American participation in the war," positioning black soldiers in the problematic interstitial space between slavery and freedom.[52] But the artist could have signaled this transformation through just two images – of the slave in rags and the soldier in a Union uniform. The central image of Gordon's scarred back, the largest of the three illustrations, emphasizes the extent to which Gordon's body was already marked with violence before his arrival on the battlefield. That he covers these scars with a military uniform emphasizes popular conceptions among both blacks and whites of the redemptive power of black male enlistment in the Union war effort; the violence of war would deliver these bodies from the violence of slavery.

Wartime dismemberment was of course profoundly disturbing for black soldiers and civilians. But in very complex ways, obliterated bodies and sheared limbs both shored up and undermined common beliefs about individual and human identity and racial hierarchy. Moreover, for many

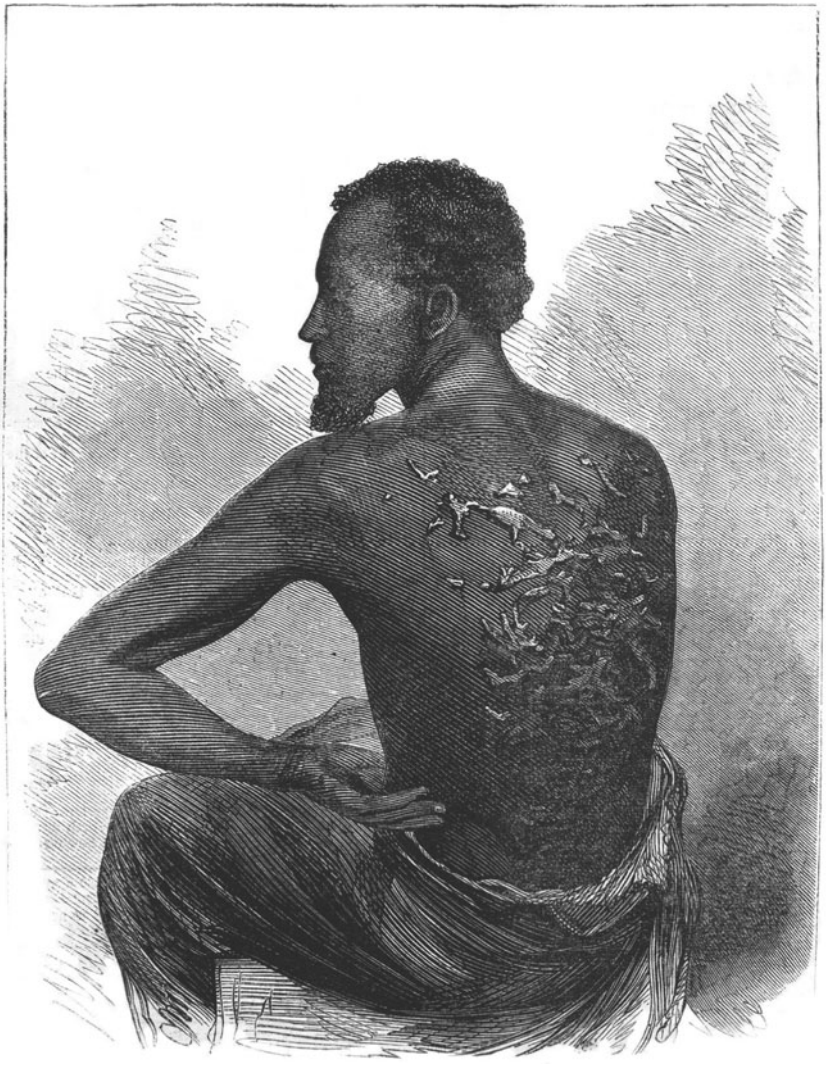

Figure 4.3. *A Typical Negro: Gordon under Medical Inspection* [original photographs by McPherson and Oliver], *Harper's Weekly*, July 4, 1863, 429. Periodicals Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

American men, both black and white, masculinity was not only a role to be played or a ritual to enact but was literally *embodied*. I do not mean to dismiss the constructed nature of masculinity; as many historians and gender theorists have amply proven, gender is in many ways a cultural invention. But Civil War Americans clearly believed in the importance of the material reality of male bodies – their skin color, proportions, and parts. The transformation of any of these elements could fundamentally change the status of the individual. And in a society in which suffrage was awarded to white males – a privilege visually recognized in the material reality of the white male body – and in which a system of slavery was both enacted and perpetuated by the control and wounding of black torsos and limbs, actual bodies mattered. And for both black and white soldiers who were lucky to survive their initial wounding but had injuries that required amputation of limbs, anxieties about the masculine nature of their fragmented bodies endured for their rest of their lives.

Cut Apart: Wartime Amputation

E. D. Woodbury enlisted in the Union Army after graduating from Dartmouth College in December 1863. After many near misses in battle, Woodbury took part in the pursuit of retreating Confederates near Appomattox Station in the spring of 1865. At dusk on April 8, he was riding through the woods when he was "struck with a shot or shell which passed through my right hand taking with it the first and middle fingers." The shot knocked him from his horse; with the help of a friend, Woodbury made it to a church converted to a Union battlefield hospital. At the church he "was unceremoniously laid out on a table," and a surgeon's assistant placed a cloth soaked with ether over his mouth. Woodbury realized that the surgeon – whom he remembered as a "dapper little" man – was about to amputate his hand. Woodbury snatched it away, spraying blood across the room and leaving the doctor "badly bespattered." Despite his protestations that the man not "go cutting him up yet," the operation was performed, and Woodbury woke up several hours later on a bench on one side of the church, having "lost the two first fingers of the right hand with bones up to the base of thumb."[53]

Woodbury was one of an estimated forty-five thousand amputees to survive the Civil War. By 1863, Oliver Wendell Holmes lamented, "Now,

alas! there are few among us who have not a cripple among our friends, if not in our own families."[54] South Carolinian Grace Brown Elmore also noted the proliferation of "cripples" in southern towns by 1864 – so many, in fact, that "the cork leg and one armed men have ceased to attract special attention."[55] Roughly 75 percent of all operations performed during the Civil War – in field hospitals, prisoner of war camps, and urban hospitals concentrated around Washington, D.C., and Richmond, Virginia – were amputations, and approximately forty thousand Union and twenty thousand Confederate soldiers underwent amputations between 1861 and 1865, more than in any other American war.[56]

Like the blown-apart bodies of men, bodies cut apart via amputation were novel sights in nineteenth-century America. Although physicians had removed limbs in the wake of accidents and warfare since the fifth century B.C. (Hippocrates is known to have practiced amputation), this procedure was not common until the sixteenth century and was not survivable at high rates until the introduction of successful anesthetic techniques in the 1840s.[57] Soldiers and civilians showed as much morbid fascination with this new surgical technique as they did with the corporeal debris of the battlefield. Union soldier James Herbert George wrote to "folks at home" from Union Mills, Virginia, in October 1863 listing amputation as one of the "sights" of battle. He had "seen wounded men born off the field in stretchers, some dead, some being buried, some having their legs & arms saw'd off (amputated) by surgeons."[58] Less than a year before becoming a patient, Woodbury had lingered at the hospital after a battle in June 1864: "I waited a few minutes and saw them take off a man's leg, then went back to the line."[59]

Others, however, were horrified to witness amputations. Charles Edward Bolton, an Amherst college student and member of the U.S. Sanitary Commission who visited the field hospitals of Petersburg in late July 1864 to minister to African American soldiers there, almost fainted when he saw "three bloody surgeons (more like butchers) [who] were straining every power in performing their duty."[60] Bolton's ambivalence toward surgeons and amputation – they are butchers who are doing their duty – was common during the war. Many observers felt that doctors amputated limbs too hastily. Pennsylvanian Tillie Pierce, who visited the field hospital of the Fifth Corps after the Battle of Gettysburg, saw the

amputating tables with their piles of limbs "higher than the fence" and was aghast: "Gaping upon these, too often the trophies of the amputating bench, I could have no other feeling than the whole scene was one of cruel butchery."[61]

Especially in the first years of the war, many army doctors had little experience and often no expertise in surgical procedures. In 1860, the U.S. Army's medical staff numbered thirty surgeons and eighty-three assistant surgeons; by the end of the war, more than eleven thousand physicians had served, attached to regiments in the field or stationed at Union hospitals.[62] A group of concerned Boston doctors wrote to Union surgeon general William A. Hammond in October 1862 that the war "has found the profession quite unprepared, both by education and experience, for the practice of military surgery."[63] Most of these recruited doctors had experience only in minor procedures – tooth extraction, boil lancing, some superficial injury care – and were therefore "incompetent as operators, and also incompetent to judge when operations are required, and at what time and under what conditions of the system they can be safely performed."[64] Some soldiers indeed lost their lives to incompetent surgeons. New Hampshire nurse Sarah Low was convinced that a young doctor at Armory Square Hospital in Washington, D.C., had delayed surgery on a soldier's leg for far too long, resulting in hemorrhaging and "mortification." She wrote in outrage to a friend, "Yesterday at eleven the leg was amputated. The man lived until about three, but never recovered from the effect of the chloroform." Low and the other nurses on the ward heard "it was the first operation of the kind that the surgeon in charge ever performed."[65] In the context of wartime recruitment of inexperienced surgeons, the Boston physicians who complained to Hammond suggested the creation of a surgical advisory board to oversee and approve of all major operations scheduled in Union hospitals.[66]

These Boston physicians may have had the best of intentions, but many were speaking from their armchairs. Battlefield conditions were less than ideal for successful consultation, assessment, and treatment of injured soldiers, and physicians frequently had to make quick decisions about whether to amputate limbs. Doctors often lacked the technology or the time to attempt "conservative" surgeries that would repair limbs; these problems and the overwhelming numbers of wounded men flooding into

hospitals after battles meant that amputations and resectioning of joints (the removal of bones) became standard protocol.[67] The higher rate of amputations led to a corresponding increase in wound infections; Civil War physicians, like other Americans at the time, had no knowledge of antisepsis and therefore did not take care to wash their hands between patients or apply sterile dressings to open wounds. As a result, "gangrene, tetanus, blood poisoning, and erysipelas, an infection in the streptococcus family, were the most common and deadly" of postsurgical infections.[68] Low was alarmed in June 1864 because so many of her amputation cases were "dying . . . of pus poison"; "some think it an epidemic."[69] South Carolina cavalry officer James Barr, who was shot one inch below his right kneecap during the Battle of Trevilian Station in June 1864, lingered in a Charlottesville, Virginia, hospital for nearly a month before Confederate surgeons amputated his leg above the knee. His wife, five months pregnant, raced to his bedside, but before another month had passed, an infection in his stump necessitated a second amputation. Barr never recovered, dying on August 29, 1864.[70]

While some soldiers and civilians criticized doctors for the number of infections in their wards, hasty surgical decisions, and growing piles of arms and legs beside the amputating tables, others praised physicians' efforts. Captain B. H. Smith of the Third Richmond Howitzers reported to his father in October 1862 that during the fight at Charlestown, "the whole of the upper part of my left foot [was] shot off" by a fragment of a shell that killed his horse. The leg was "amputated above the wound by skillful surgeons who hope to save half of it."[71] While some soldiers died after botched amputations or from operative infections, the fact that more than 70 percent of amputation patients survived suggests that Civil War surgeons saved lives that would otherwise have been lost.[72] These survivors, missing arms and legs, were discharged from the army and sent home to rejoin their families and resume their lives. As the ruins of men dispersed throughout the country, their fragmented bodies became sites of debate about both wartime and postwar American masculinity. Were amputees living proof of their own bravery? Could they court women and have children? How would they fare in the workplace? The Civil War's weapons had transformed their bodies and changed what it meant to be a man in mid-nineteenth-century America.

Empty Sleeves and Incomplete Men: A Crisis of Masculinity

In July 1864, a northern newspaper published a cartoon, *True for Once*, which lampooned the purported patriotism and bravery of northern civilian men (see fig. 4.4). A "Languid Swell" stands in a train aisle looking for a seat, while a "Wounded Soldier" with his right arm in a sling sits with his bandaged leg propped up on the seat opposite. The Swell announces, "I wish I was a soldier, coming home from the wars," to which the soldier replies, "I dare say you do, you coward, for you wouldn't like to go – that's sure." In this image, the Wounded Soldier is coming home because he has served his country with distinction; his bandages signal his bravery in warfare and his sacrifice for his country. The Swell's clothing and his lack of bodily injury suggest the opposite – that he is a coward who would shirk his duty to save his limbs. In the letters of soldiers, newspaper articles, and wartime visual culture, Americans shaped a positive discourse of wounding and amputation centered on the "empty sleeve" of Civil War veterans, both northern and southern, emphasizing the bravery, patriotism, and manliness of battle-scarred amputees.

In 1874, Union veteran and arm amputee George Washington Thomas published a pamphlet, *The Empty Sleeve*, that contained a poem he wrote about a "humble soldier who bore throughout the wars / The flag of freedom's conflict and bears to-day the scars." At Cold Harbor, this soldier charged the trenches of the enemy in the "front rank" and was shot just as he reached the abatis, ready to grapple hand-to-hand with the enemy. No other soldier, Thomas writes, was "more true or brave than he." However, the man "who fought that day so grandly" found his arm shattered so that he could not fight again.[73] War wounds, like those sustained by this "humble soldier," constituted visual evidence of courage. In October 1864, James Hyatt, a Union private taken prisoner and incarcerated at Andersonville, gave a poem to fellow prisoner William H. Smith that reinforced this connection:

> The voice of slander tells you that our hearts with fear were weak,
> That all or nearly all of us were captured in the rear.
> The scars uppon our bodies from muskett balls and shell
> The missing legs and shattered arms a truer tale will tell.[74]

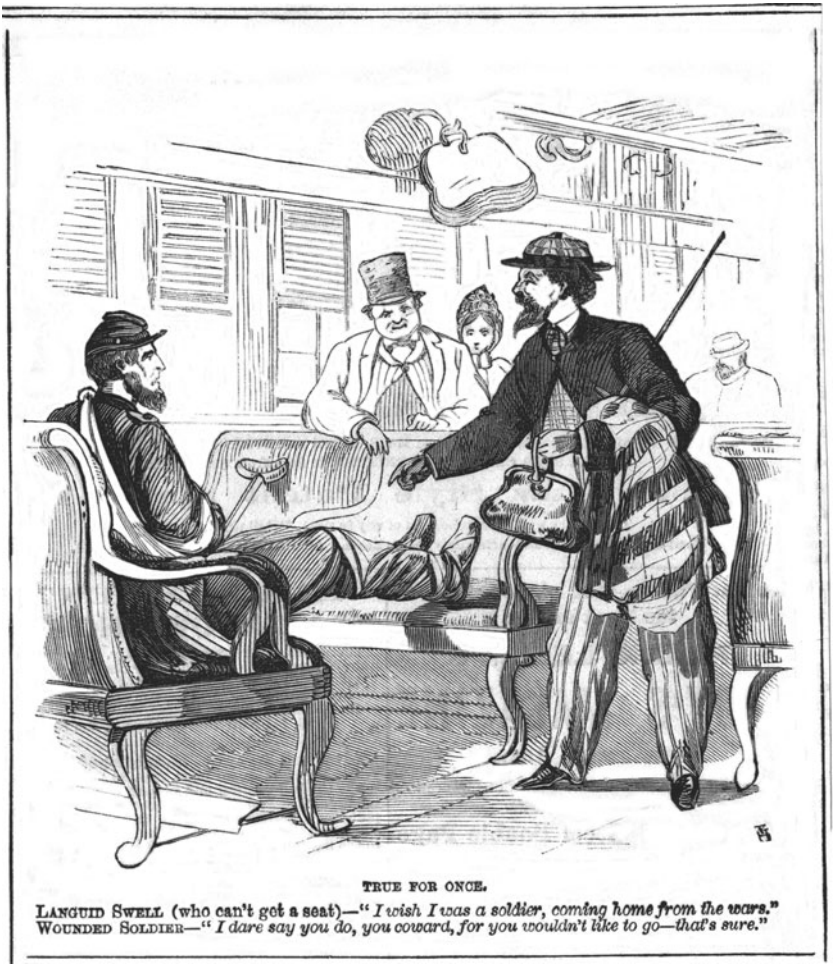
TRUE FOR ONCE.
LANGUID SWELL (who can't get a seat)—"I wish I was a soldier, coming home from the wars."
WOUNDED SOLDIER—"I dare say you do, you coward, for you wouldn't like to go—that's sure."

Figure 4.4. *True for Once,* July 1864. Item No. 92, Folder 1, Box 2, Civil War Cartoons Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

For Hyatt, the scars on soldiers' bodies and their empty sleeves combat "slander" that depicts his regiment's war service as cowardly; some soldiers and civilians clearly felt that imprisonment suggested a soldier's weakness and fear, that he had run for the back and into the enemy's hands. But Hyatt argues that the body itself tells a "truer tale" of the war, its scars and missing limbs becoming powerful and visible signs of manliness.

For some men, scars alone narrated their battle bravery. For others, courage meant being injured or enduring amputation and continuing to fight.[75] One story (perhaps apocryphal) of a man's determination to prove himself able-bodied despite amputation made the rounds of southern newspapers in July 1862. During the Battle of Shiloh, an officer saw an injured young Confederate soldier taking aim at Union troops while leaning against a tree trunk: "I rode up to him and asked who he was shooting at. The reply was 'at those everlasting Yankees; I want to put an end to some of them.' I asked him why he did not advance, and he said, 'my leg is broken, but if you will carry me a little farther, I will kill more of them, for I have yet six cartridges.'"[76] In a similar vein, sixteen-year-old Virginian Lizzie Alsop reported that during the Battle of Seven Pines, Confederate soldier William Jackson was shot "severely" in the arm and responded to his consequent amputation by saying, "Thank God I have another arm with which to shoot the Yankees."[77]

Such determination to continue fighting while maimed – especially when able-bodied men remained on the home front – was a sign of manliness and bravery; it was also proof of patriotism. In May 1864, soon after enlisting, Massachusetts soldier John Owen wrote to his aunt from Point Lookout, "I hope for dear mother's sake that I shall come out of the struggle uninjured, though she & you all must feel that it would be far better, far nobler, to die in behalf of one's country, than to lead an idle, useless life at home."[78] In 1862, northern prosthetics manufacturer B. F. Palmer explicitly connected sacrificing limbs to saving the life of the country, lauding the "army of gallant men, who, to save the Nation from dismemberment, have consecrated the soil of an empire with blood, and sacrificed a thousand – yes, ten times a thousand – of the noblest hands that ever brought so precious tribute to the altar of Constitutional Liberty."[79] Many white northern amputees claimed a patriotic purpose for their missing limbs; they willingly ruined their own bodies for the cause of the

Union – so that the nation would not be dismembered – and boldly stated that they would do so again. Henry Meacham, a carriage maker living in Russell, Massachusetts, enlisted in the Union Army in September 1863 and was wounded during the battle for Petersburg in June 1864: a shell hit him and "took part of my arm of[f], and I never saw the hand afterward." Surgeons at the division hospital amputated his arm, and Meacham was sent to recover at a hospital in Washington, D.C.; he was discharged on August 25, 1864. "I have fought and suffered for my country," he wrote, "and should the war again break out, I would willingly sacrifice my other arm, or life, if need be, to sustain our liberty and independence."[80]

In one of the many war poems titled "The Empty Sleeve," the northern protagonist loses his arm during a hectic battle as the "whizzing grape" and "fiery shell" create a scene "which rivals the scenes of hell." As in Hyatt's poem, the empty space where the soldier's arm used to be is filled with meaning. The empty sleeve

> tells in a silent tone to all
> Of a country's need & a country's call
> Of a kiss & a tear for a child & wife
> And a hurried march for a nation's life.

Here, the ruined body signals the individual soldier's bravery in battle and his patriotism; he fights "for a country's need & a country's call." But the poet goes even further, investing the war wound with a kind of prophetic power, as it "points to a time when the flag shall move / O'er a land where there breathes no cowering slave."[81] As the empty sleeve flaps in the wind, so shall the Stars and Stripes wave over an emancipated South.

The Union's black soldiers looked on the prospect of a "land where there breathes no cowering slave" with much more interest and emotional investment than most of their white comrades in arms but also saw war wounds as conveying bravery and courage. Recruiters for African American regiments, including Frederick Douglass, the most famous of fugitive slaves, lured volunteers with the promise that they would achieve "manhood" through military service. Many injured black soldiers believed their wounds were both patriotic and manly; the scars of battle replaced the scars of the whip and the brand. The total number of African American men who lost limbs in battle is unclear as a consequence of

inconsistent record keeping in the field. The medical records of the First U.S. Colored Infantry reveal that at least fourteen of its soldiers lost limbs between the summer of 1863 and the spring of 1865. The men of this regiment, who served under Benjamin Butler in the Army of the James, fought in several major engagements in the eastern theater in 1864. During the second Battle of Fair Oaks, which took place over the course of two days in October, three of the unit's men sustained wounds requiring amputation. Private G. Curtis of Company A was hit by a shell fragment in his right thigh and suffered a massive contusion; within two weeks, he had developed gangrene around the wound, and the leg was amputated on November 19. He rallied but then succumbed to pyemia, a bacterial infection, and died on January 13, 1865.[82] Private G. H. Kane also did not survive his amputation; an artillery shot shattered the seventeen-year-old's left leg, and he died soon after it was removed.[83] I. A. Payne was luckier than his compatriots: doctors operated on his left leg the day after the Fair Oaks battle and saved his life; he was discharged on July 12, 1865.[84]

We do not know how Privates Curtis, Kane, and Payne felt about their amputations, as they did not leave any personal records. But other observers clearly associated the loss of limbs with the acquisition of black manhood and citizenship. Northern artist Thomas Waterman Wood's *A Bit of War History* (1866) features the transformation of a slave to a soldier and ultimately a veteran amputee (see fig. 4.5). Franny Nudelman has argued that the posture and gestures of the veteran in this panel suggest that the amputee is right back where the slave had been after the war's end, his manhood established but still in a servile position with regard to his superiors in the army and perhaps the U.S. government.[85] However, another reading of this image is possible. "The Veteran" stands tall and his salute is not directed at the viewer (as is the doffed cap in the first panel, "The Contraband") but is in a direct line with the American flag standing behind him in the doorway. His crutches echo the shape and size of the flag's staff, and the slant of his body and the gun that he has left leaning against the wall form a V – possibly for *victory*. He is dressed in clean clothes and wears a soldier's caped coat in addition to the Union kepi. This amputee veteran has given his leg for the cause; the Empty Sleeve narrative's message of bravery and sacrifice is clear.

Figure 4.5. Thomas Waterman Wood, *A Bit of War History: The Veteran*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 28¼ × 20¼ in. (71.8 × 51.4 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Charles Stewart Smith, 1884.

The Empty Sleeve discourse explained that both Union and Confederate amputees and others who suffered from severe wounds fought courageously for their countries; they also suffered pain in manly silence. Dr. Henry Bellows, the director of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, was deeply affected by such masculine suffering during his trip to the Union hospitals after the Battle of Gettysburg: "The spectacle was intensely wretched. Men with both legs shot off – shot in the eye, the mouth, both hands gone, or one arm lost, were laying in rows that seemed pitiable and in wonderful patience, fortitude and patriotic pride, facing their sufferings."[86] Here, the pain of disfigured men appears, only to be mastered and then erased – like the limbs they have lost – as a sign of patriotic and manly fortitude. Union physician George T. Stevens went so far as to interpret the suppression of pain as a distinctly northern trait. "A Union soldier," he wrote, "if so severely wounded that he could by no possibility assume a cheerful countenance, would shut his teeth close together and say nothing." Conversely, a Confederate soldier, "if he could boast only of a flesh wound, would whine and cry like a sick child."[87] To Stevens, the silence of manly suffering was an extension of political and national affiliation; in his view, the Union was a legitimate and powerful cause for which to fight, and it provoked a distinctly northern kind of courage.

Southerners disagreed. Their soldiers were just as brave in battle and just as manly in their suffering when wounded. Virginian Emma Mordecai nursed the injured at a hospital during the spring campaign of 1864, and "my heart bled for the noble, uncomplaining, all-enduring heroes." One man in particular – a "splendid-looking" soldier with "fine features & most excellent countenance" – caught her eye. A shell had shattered his right arm, and he was "suffering agony in what was left to him." The next day, his arm was amputated. Mordecai tried to joke with him, telling him, "This is a bad way of getting a furlough," but the man just sighed heavily and said, "Ah! The worst of it is, to think of our families."[88] A man thinking of his family and not of himself or his pain was the epitome of southern chivalric manhood.

War promised to make both white and black soldiers into men. However, wounds and amputations threatened the nature of that manhood in their assault on individual identity, humanity, and citizenship. Both northerners and southerners therefore developed the Empty Sleeve narrative

to frame war wounds as proof of bravery, patriotism, and noble suffering. The limb is replaced by culturally positive virtues that explain and justify its absence. In a new kind of physiognomic reading, the Empty Sleeve comes not only to symbolize these character traits but also to represent all the other wounds a soldier could have sustained in battle and their positive meaning. But such symbols are inherently fluid and unstable, and the threats to the veteran amputee's status as a man always remained, lurking. Thus the transformed, ruined bodies of veteran amputees also became sites for apprehension about many of these same virtues. Soldiers and civilians created a competing narrative – that of the Incomplete Man – as a way to express concerns about the masculinity of veterans, the role of women in shoring up that masculinity, and the return to "normalcy" at home during and after the war.

In 1886, as part of the resurgence in veterans' memoirs and accounts of the war in the post-Reconstruction era, northerner Washington Davis published a collection of stories, poems, and jokes, *Camp-Fire Chats of the Civil War*, that contains a poem lampooning the "choices" men with crushed and shredded limbs made on the surgeon's table:

> To amputate, or not to amputate? That is the question.
> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> Th' unsymmetry of one-armed men, and draw
> A pension, thereby shuffling off a part
> Of Mortal coil; or, trusting unhinged nature,
> Take arms against a cruel surgeon's knife,
> And, by opposing rusty theories,
> Risk a return to dust in the full shape of man.[89]

Davis's poem is obviously a farce, but as with most jokes, it is rooted in a painful reality. For soldiers who faced the possibility of amputation, the troubling vision of the "unsymmetry of one-armed men" was often enough to convince them to trust "unhinged nature" and risk dying, if doing so meant that their bodies could remain intact. Despite the positive associations that the Empty Sleeve narrative attached to soldiers' wrecked bodies, there were powerful negative responses to amputation and to living as an amputee in midcentury America. In discussing limb loss and depicting veteran amputees, Americans voiced their concerns about returning soldiers' ability to be men – to create families and work to support them.

Both northern and southern soldiers feared the sawbones of the field hospitals during the war and refused amputation because they thought doctors were incompetent or too eager to cut. Union captain Richard Cary's wife, Helen, worried that her husband would lose a limb while he was unconscious or that the field surgeons would not consult him before resorting to the saw. Cary tried to ameliorate her worries, assuring her, "You must recollect that the fight at Big Bethel was not much of a fight & the surgeons had plenty of time to attend to the wounded which they would not have after a battle like Bull Run." In battles that engaged tens of thousands of troops, Cary acknowledged, army physicians were busy and "probably in such a case they off with your dimensions without so much as by your leave or with your leave." He joked that "the best way to avoid trouble or any discussion with the saw bones is to keep out of the way of the balls" before turning serious: "I fondly hope to return to the bosom of my family complete."[90] Helen and Richard Cary's desire that he return from the war "complete" suggests a common fear of what amputation would mean for men returning home. Even some physicians believed that amputation, while sometimes necessary, was "unnatural." Union doctor George Gay argued to the surgeon general in October 1862, "Many gun-shot wounds and other wounds, if left alone, will take care of themselves. . . . [A]ll interference with nature must be avoided. She may be assisted in individual cases, but not opposed."[91] Amputations were violent acts of rupture in opposition to the body's natural processes and therefore produced men who were unnatural and unsymmetrical.

Some soldiers suspected that they would die from the "cruel surgeon's knife" and therefore refused amputation even as they screamed from the pain of their injuries. Others objected because they knew that the loss of a limb would threaten their individuality and their manhood.[92] Confederate lieutenant colonel Jonathan Catlett Gibson of the Forty-Ninth Virginia, who was transported to Richmond's Chimborazo Hospital with a minié ball wound to his right shin, "refused to allow amputation, but it is now thought that he will recover."[93] E. D. Woodbury fought through the fuzziness of ether to cry "Don't you go cutting me up yet!" at his surgeon, while Sylvester Hadley, a Concord farmer who had enlisted in May 1861 and was shot in the foot at Gettysburg, wrote in his diary that twelve days after his injury, "The Surgen examined my foot, thinks it will have to be operated upon but I don't mean to have it."[94]

Soldiers' resistance to amputation reveals that many of them feared becoming "incomplete men"; their anxiety about limb loss echoed the horrified responses to disarticulated bodies on the battlefield. Soldiers may also have felt that amputation somehow revealed their lack of power; Helen Cary's concern that her husband's limbs would be taken without his permission speaks to this concern. In the still and silent moments before the February 1862 Union assault on Georgia's Fort Pulaski, Confederate soldier Theodorick Montfort was chagrined to see "the surgeon sharping his instruments & whetting his saw to take [from] them those necessary member[s] of our body that God has given us for our indispensible use."[95] Lying on the amputation tables of the war's field hospitals, soldiers worried that they would become passive victims of the surgeon's sharp instruments. Thus, many amputees stressed in their memoirs that they had chosen to undergo amputation. After several weeks of lying in a hospital bed while his leg "mortified," Napoleon Perkins discussed the situation with the head surgeon, Dr. Inghram, who said, "Perkins, that leg must come off or you won't live three days longer." The young man replied, "Dr. this is prety tough. My legs and hands are all I have to get a living with." Perkins "hesitated a moment, then said, 'Dr., take it off.'"[96] This claim of choice reasserts the soldier's right to determine his own future, a core element of masculinity in nineteenth-century American culture. By making an affirmative decision to save his own life, the soldier could take back some of the control that many men perceived as lost in the context of warfare, when they were ordered to march, work, kill, and die.

The act of choosing amputation was often the last time that veteran amputees felt the sense of power to which they had been accustomed as "complete" men. Pennsylvania soldier John B. Erway, an acquaintance of Perkins's whose leg had been amputated below the knee, "was a jolly good fellow and at times did not seem to mind the loss of his leg." But Erway's cheerfulness masked a great worry. After they became better friends, Perkins "could see how much he felt the loss." At one point, Erway told him that losing his leg "would change the whole course of his life."[97] The conviction that their lives would be irreparably altered for the worse was common among veteran amputees, and some of them dealt with the new reality of their missing limbs by refusing to acknowledge it. Poet Walt Whitman, who nursed the Union wounded in Washington,

D.C., hospitals in 1862–63, was profoundly saddened by some soldiers' repudiation of their own empty sleeves. In his war poem "The Wound Dresser," Whitman depicts the hospital nurse moving from soldier to soldier, "from the stump of the arm, the amputated hand," unraveling lint bandages, removing clotted blood and scabs, and washing them away:

> Back on his pillow the soldier bends with curv'd neck and side-falling head,
> His eyes are closed, his face is pale, he dares not look on the bloody stump,
> And has not yet look'd on it.[98]

This veteran amputee fears that if he looks, he will acknowledge the reality of his stump and what it promises for his future. Some soldiers, however, really did not believe that they were missing limbs; suffering from phantom limb syndrome, these men still felt sensations in the empty spaces where their arms and legs used to be. Lisa Herschbach has described phantom limb as a process through which the "body memorializes itself," retaining the memory of wholeness in absence.[99] Each time a soldier felt an itch in his arm, reached out to scratch it, and then found nothing there, he realized once again what Whitman's amputee tried to deny. Such continuous epiphanies of incompleteness resulted in a cycle of emotional torture for many Civil War amputees.

To deal with both physical and psychological pain, many soldiers turned to humor. In *Hospital Sketches*, which "found favor in several quarters" of the northern reading public in 1863, Louisa May Alcott wrote of a young sergeant with a "budding trace of gingerbread over the lip" who had "one leg gone, and the right arm so shattered that it must evidently follow." He was in good spirits, however, and assured the protagonist, Nurse Periwinkle (a thinly veiled Alcott), that she need not fret about him, as "I'm first rate here, for it's nuts to lie still on this bed, after knocking about in those confounded ambulances." He was impressed with the thorough work of the Confederate artillery during the Battle of Fredericksburg. "Lord!," he exclaimed, "what a scramble there'll be for arms and legs, when we old boys come out of our graves, on the Judgment Day: wonder if we shall get our own again?" At this, the sergeant "laughed blithely, and so did I."[100] Amputees joked with doctors, nurses, and with one another as they recovered from surgery. Confederate nurse Kate Cumming reported in October 1863, "We have a room with seven men in it, who have lost a

limb each. It is a perfect treat to go into it, as the men seem to do little else but laugh."[101] Ohio journalist Whitelaw Reid, who traveled through the South for a year after the war, overheard Confederate veterans at a hotel bar in Savannah, convivial even in defeat: "Sorry about that ugly wound Captain," said one; "A hand is a bad thing to lose, but it won't hurt you among the ladies of Savannah. There are plenty that you can persuade to give you one."[102] This laughter at times had a hard, mean edge, however. Confederate private William Fletcher, waiting for his turn on the amputation table after being wounded in the foot at Chickamauga, teased a fellow soldier whose face was disfigured by a bullet wound that he would "make better success courting when [you] get back with [your] back to the girls." The soldier retorted bitterly, "That will be better than you; as you can't turn any way to hide your wooden leg."[103]

That many of these jokes were embittered and involved the prospective courtship of women is significant, because this was the primary anxiety that amputees felt during their recovery and as they began to return home. When they emerged from hospitals during and after the Civil War, amputee veterans faced a continual crisis of masculinity and became central figures in debates regarding gender roles and the importance of family relations in the Civil War era. Concern about the reintegration of amputees into the patriarchal world of the American family was expressed in several ways, including speculation about the amputee's ability to marry and procreate. Many soldiers feared that the women they had wooed at home would no longer be receptive to one-armed advances. Union colonel William Hillyer's wartime scrapbook contains a poem, "A Soldier's Letter and a Woman's Answer," that dramatizes the imagined confrontation between war amputees and their lovers at home. The soldier's letter announces,

> I'm wounded! – don't start – 'tis not very bad
> Or at least it might be worse; so I said
> When I thought of you, I'm sure she'll be glad
> To know I'm only wounded – not dead.
>
> I've lost my left arm – There! Now you know all!
> A minié ball shattered it, and I fell.

To soften the blow of the news of his amputation, this soldier assures Mary (the "Woman" of the title) that he is alive and that he expects to come home soon, but he releases her from the obligation of their engagement:

> You'll think me foolish at first
> then you'll think
> Of the loose, armless coat-sleeve at my side;
> And your proud and sensitive heart will shrink
> From the thought of being a cripple's bride.

The soldier's assumptions about his fiancée's thoughts move from positive ("I'm sure she'll be glad / To know I'm only wounded – not dead") to negative (she will shudder at being tied to "cripple"), and the empty sleeve in this poem shifts from a symbol of patriotic fervor and bravery to a sign of effeminacy. Despite his fears, however, Mary rejects the idea that his "loose, armless coat-sleeve" disqualifies him from reassuming his patriarchal role. She admits that the news "has brought / A strange mélange of joy and misery" but calls his letter "manly"; that he has both sacrificed his arm for his country and is prepared voluntarily to surrender her is emotionally overwhelming. Mary proclaims at the end of her letter that she still wants to marry him and will be perfectly content to be held "by a Patriot-Hero's one strong arm!"[104]

"A Soldier's Letter" portrays the gendered anxieties circulating around veteran amputees' reintegration into life on the home front. They faced a kind of crisis d'amour as they contemplated losing the women in their lives. Southern men in particular were heavily invested in their love relationships, and their success or failure in these affairs determined their worth as men; their wounding impaired their ability to woo women and earn their regard, imperiling chivalric masculinity.[105] The Union veteran in "A Soldier's Letter" is simultaneously a "Patriot-Hero" and "cripple" from whom women may shrink. The soldier is not sure what Mary will think, but she rises to the occasion; her act of patriotism involves accepting this incomplete man as her betrothed.

Much of the literature and visual culture depicting amputees on the Union and Confederate home fronts focused on the expected "duties" of the women who loved them. Their first duty was to take amputees

back and go through with previously established wedding plans. Speaking in Macon, Georgia, in September 1864, Confederate president Jefferson Davis expressed his hope that "when the war is over and our independence won," the new nation's aristocracy would be "the limping soldier." "To the young ladies," he intoned, "I would say that when choosing between an empty sleeve and the man who had remained at home and grown rich, always take the empty sleeve."[106] Here, the Empty Sleeve discourse held sway; because "limping soldiers" were braver and more patriotic than the men "who remained at home and [grew] rich," Confederate women were expected to embrace wounded veterans despite their missing limbs and their prospective poverty. The Reverend J. L. Underwood, a writer and Confederate historian, lauded such ideal southern women who in the years after the war's end acted as the "tender vine binding up the shattered tree and hiding its wounds."[107]

Northern women were also encouraged to embrace bravery (amputees) rather than cowardice (civilian men). During a July 1863 recruiting rally for black troops in Philadelphia, white abolitionist William D. Kelley emphasized that girls should tell their beaux that they would "rather marry the wooden leg and empty jacket sleeve of a war-torn hero" than a handsome and presumably able-bodied coward.[108] Women were expected not only to cleave to amputees out of admiration for their bravery but also to help them adjust to both life and work; women were to use their own healthy bodies to replace their husbands' missing limbs. In a short story, "Conway," included in an 1868 pamphlet meant to raise money for wounded Union veterans, the title character has been wounded in the war and his injury advertised in the newspaper. Nettie, his fiancée, rushes to Washington to see him, and as "the matron pointed to the bed . . . Nettie's heart gave a great thrill for she saw the vacant shirt-sleeve lying out upon the bed." Here, like the descriptions of bodies blown apart on the battlefield, Conway is subsumed by his amputation and defined by the emptiness of his sleeve. As Nettie creeps forward, she overhears him musing to himself, "How will she look upon me, maimed [and] shattered, but not disgraced?" He expresses no regret for going to war and is sorry only that "I can never fight again." Like Mary's beloved in "A Soldier's Letter," Conway vows to release Nettie from their engagement "if she trembles and turns pale at the sight" of his stump. In response, she

takes his remaining hand and kisses it, passionately vowing that she loves him "better than before, Conway. You have lost your right arm. Let me be an arm to you."[109] Nettie is the ideal woman in the view of wounded veterans and the American public. She loves Conway all the more for his lost limb and helps him to survive in the postwar world, preserving his patriarchal status.

But such scenes of successful courtship, as much as they affirmed amputees' masculinity, also betray an anxiety about the more powerful role of women within the family as a result of the wartime destruction of male bodies. In a political cartoon published in northern newspapers in June 1863, a couple walks close together and away from the viewer, sauntering along a path next to a countryside fence and toward a leafy bower (see fig. 4.6). The woman's left arm is wrapped around the man's waist; her white, patterned dress is illuminated sharply by the dark color of his uniform; and a closer look reveals that both of the soldier's arms have been amputated. The caption reads, "This may seem very bold, and all that sort of thing, on Julia's part; but he cannot put his arm around HER waist – and something has to be done, you know." Because the veteran amputee can no longer make the first move, Julia has taken control of the courtship ritual. Her boldness is required, for "something must be done, you know," to integrate amputees back into the American family through normative heterosexual relationships. However, this reintegration has its cost; Julia's boldness threatens to overturn antebellum gender roles and provide American women with more power than many men (and women) found acceptable.[110]

Winslow Homer's wood engraving, *Our Watering Places: The Empty Sleeve at Newport* (1865), portrays a similarly worrying scene of gender role reversal (see fig. 4.7). The engraving accompanies a short story in *Harper's Weekly* in which an amputee veteran, Captain Harry Ash, returns to Newport from the war to find his true love, Edna Ackland, driving "one of those pretty basket-work affairs in vogue . . . behind a handsome pair of ponies." Harry, who confesses to "old-fashioned prejudices" and liking "womanly women," is aghast at Edna's boldness and avoids her company. They ultimately run into one another in a moonlit garden, and he criticizes her new skills, remarking bitterly that driving "is not so charming to one who can never handle whip or rein again." Edna cries and then

This may seem very bold, and all that sort of thing, on Julia's part; but he cannot put his arm round HER *waist—and something has to be done, you know.*

Figure 4.6. *This May Seem Very Bold*, June 1863. Item No. 82, Folder 2, Box 1, Civil War Cartoons Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

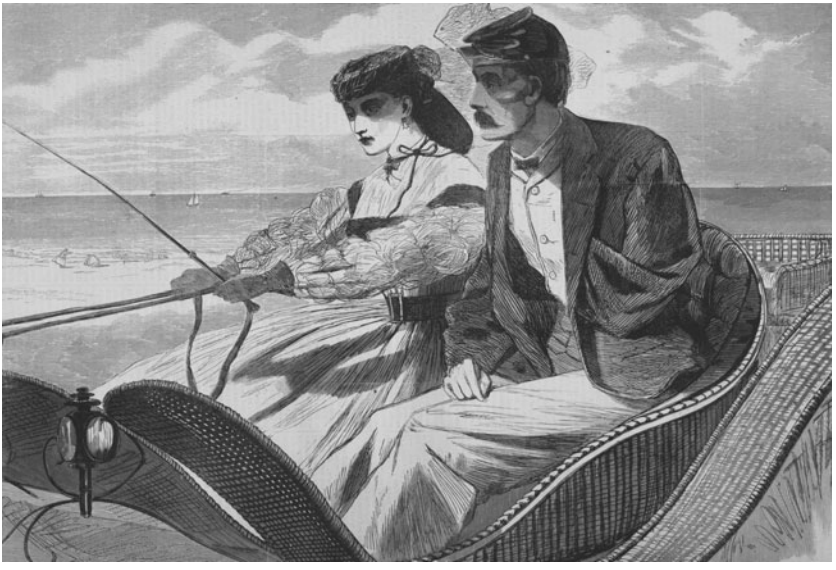

Figure 4.7. Winslow Homer, *Our Watering-Places: The Empty Sleeve at Newport*, *Harper's Weekly*, August 26, 1865, 532. Periodicals Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

confesses that when she heard Harry had lost an arm, her first thought was, "he will be so helpless! There will be so many things he can not do for himself," so she had learned to drive. At this news, the two reconcile, and they later marry. The author of the story assures the reader that although Edna's hands hold the reins of their carriage, Harry's "eye is on the road and his voice guides her; so that, in reality, she is only his left hand, and he, the husband, drives."[111]

Homer's illustration of this "happy ending" is a bit more ambiguous, however. Edna sits on the right side of a carriage, holding the reins and a horse whip. The taut reins and the breeze blowing her lace veil above and behind her head suggest that she drives with confidence. Harry, his left coat sleeve pinned behind his lapel, sits beside her, unsmiling, and her veil blows onto his Union kepi, making it look like a woman's hat. Despite the author's assertion that Harry is the driver, Edna has all the power in Homer's engraving. Harry's amputation has rendered him helpless – "there will be so many things he can not do for himself" – and therefore incomplete.

Depictions of wounded men and amputees as weak and dependent abounded in the letters and diaries of Civil War soldiers and civilians, revealing the way that ruined bodies both affirmed and undermined masculinity during wartime. Men lacking arms and legs "were dismembered persons in a literal sense but also in a social, economic, political, and sexual sense." Amputation emasculated soldiers, bringing them under the healing power and domination of women.[112] Some women saw their betrothals or marriages to veteran amputees not as acts of recognition and appreciation of their husbands' patriotic masculinity but as a kind of triumph in their dependence. Emma Shannon Crutcher, whose husband, Will, fought for the Confederacy, dreamed in 1862 that her husband had suffered a severe leg wound. In the dream, she received the news with "maximized joy" and satisfaction. "Now, thought I, he will never leave me again," she wrote to her husband, "for he will be of no use, in the army, and – if I die, he will never marry again, for no one but me would love a lame man – he is mine now."[113] It is unclear how Will reacted to this news of his imagined wounding and his wife's delight in it. Although some of Kate Cumming's amputee patients joked that they would make "excellent husbands, as they will be sure to never run away," Emma Crutcher's satisfaction at keeping Will for herself because "he will be of no use" to the Confederate Army or to other women reveals that some women equated wounding and amputation with a loss of masculine power and consequently growing feminine authority in relationships.[114]

Some women overtly infantilized amputees. A friend convinced Emma Mordecai to volunteer at Confederate field hospitals in May 1864 by painting a "distressing picture" of the South's "brave men, now more prostrate & helpless than infants."[115] Union nurses Sarah Low and Anna Lowell scorned patients who complained too much, nicknaming one man "Baby" because he cried and whined all the time.[116] Many amputees shared this anxiety about their helpless condition and the way it converted them from men to boys. Indiana soldier Eden Fisher, who lost both legs below the knees in the battle for New Orleans, "had to be carried from place to place, and when I arrived home and looked around on my boyhood days where only a few years before I had sported with my playmates, the blood would chill in my veins, and tears would roll down my cheeks to think of my condition."[117] For Fisher, the return to boyhood

was painfully double-edged; he remembered his life as a whole boy, running and jumping with his friends, and contrasted it to his current condition, helpless as a child but unable to play.

The childlike image of leg amputees in particular became even more vivid – to them and to observers – when they tried to learn to walk using prosthetic limbs. Low described one patient, a "mere lad" with "rosey cheeks" whose "white hair cut close to his head give him the appearance of a very young child." This young man's left leg had been amputated, and Low looked up from her work one day to see him crawling down the lower part of the ward with "the stump of his left leg hanging in a sling from his neck."[118] After the amputation of his right foot, Napoleon Perkins shared a pair of shoes with John Erway, who had lost his left foot, and borrowed crutches from his friend as well. Perkins would "always remember the first step I took without help. Felt as proud as a child learning to walk."[119] Crutches and especially prosthetics enabled amputees to reverse their descent into childhood and reemerge upright into manhood. As Union lieutenant John C. Hilton put it in a June 1864 letter praising the prosthetic legs made by George Jewett, "Had you not been *determined* to make me walk off like a man again, I should have been to day walking around with crutches."[120]

To combat this image of the infantilized, incomplete man, many Americans created images of amputees that emphasized both their empty sleeves and their virility. Doing so often necessitated depicting amputees in family scenes, thereby proving their ability to procreate and emphasizing their manliness in opposition to children. In J. C. Buttre's engraving, *The Empty Sleeve*, artist Adelaide R. Sawyer depicts a Union soldier wearing a uniform and sitting in an armchair by an open window (see fig. 4.8). It is a conventional portrait (with the long view to a verdant valley out the window and a drapery framing the image on the left side of the drawing) but for the soldier's embrace of a child sitting on his lap. His left arm is wrapped around the child, whose curly hair and white dress contrast sharply with the soldier's uniform. The soldier looks to the viewer's right, while the child looks to the left, intrigued by what she has found – the empty sleeve. As the baby lifts up the sleeve to peer inside, it is as if her arms become the limb that the soldier has lost. It is unclear from this engraving whether the soldier has conceived this child before or after

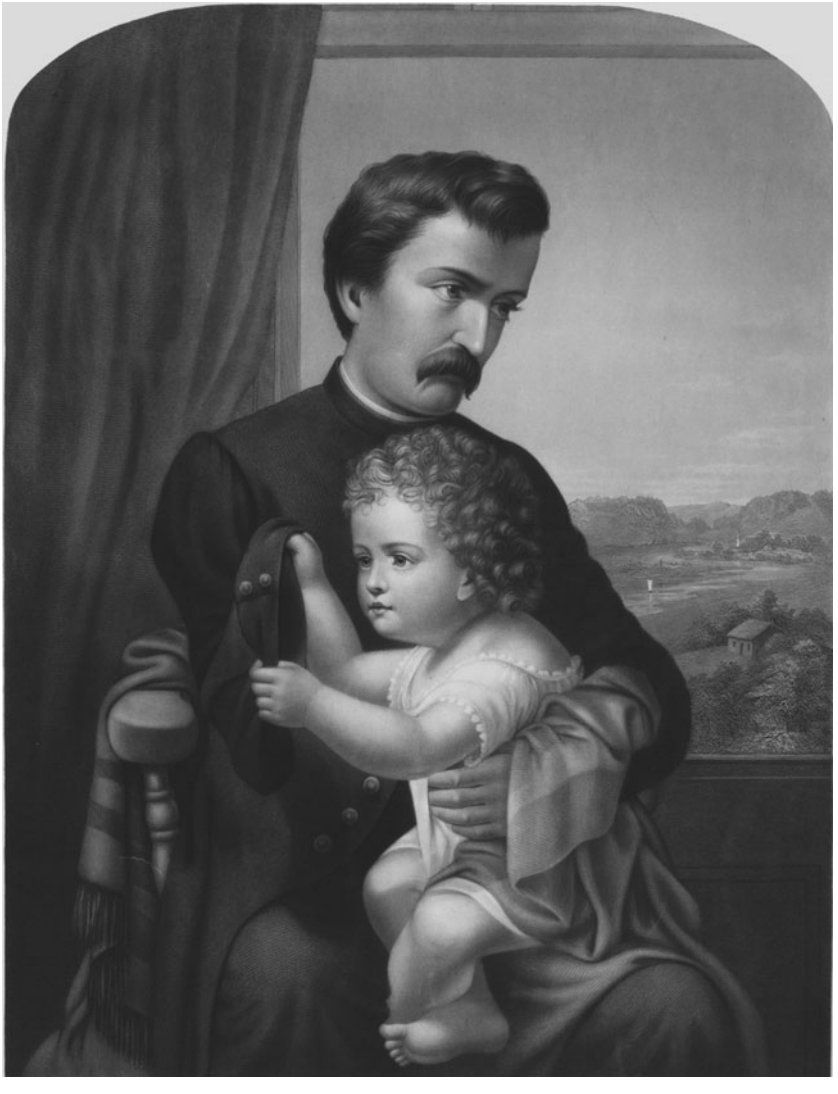

Figure 4.8. Adelaide R. Sawyer, artist, and J. C. Buttre, engraver, *The Empty Sleeve: What a Tell-Tale Thing Is an Empty Sleeve*, 1871. Engravings Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

Figure 4.9. Peck Brothers, Photographers., *Private George Warner and His Family*, [1865–68], Newman S. Hungerford Museum Fund, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.

the war, but the image overall affirms his ability to procreate and to "rejoin his family complete." A photograph of Union private George Warner and his family conveys a similar message (see fig. 4.9). In this portrait, Warner sits surrounded by his wife and six children, one of them a baby cradled in his mother's right arm. The baby is quite young, and his presence affirms George Warner's virility. In her left hand, Warner's wife holds what looks to be a three- or four-pound shot, making a visual link between this piece of ammunition and her husband's two empty sleeves. That the ball would be included in the Warners' family photograph suggests that George Warner, his injury, and its cause have been reintegrated into family life.

Despite the efforts of many soldiers, civilians, writers, and artists, concerns about the masculinity of war amputees persisted. Wounded men worried about the women waiting for them at home and whether their mothers, sisters, and especially their wives (or prospective wives) would take them back in their mangled states. By wooing women and procreating,

these men could prove their masculinity, which the war's violence had simultaneously affirmed and denied. But veterans faced an additional problem, as Arkansas soldier and amputee James Berry discovered in 1865. When he asked for Lizzie Quaile's hand in marriage, her father refused, telling Berry that he "was not willing for his daughter to be married to a man who had not much chance for means of support."[121] After earning a woman's love, the veteran amputee then had to earn a living.

What Is Justly Due: Supporting Amputees

When he returned home to New Hampshire, Napoleon Perkins realized that his whole life lay before him but that "my means for obtaining a living was very limited." Perkins looked for work in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, and Ohio, with no long-term success. When he applied for a job as a mechanic on the Wabash Railroad line, the master mechanic "seemed to take quite an interest in me" but ultimately said that "if I only had 2 legs he would give me a job fireing an engine."[122] Losing a limb changed the course of men's lives and made it difficult for them to return to their prewar work. In the South, jobs were scarce, and many returning Confederates "found themselves unemployed or taking menial positions," another blow to their sense of masculinity.[123] The vast majority of Civil War soldiers on both sides of the conflict were farmers or worked as manual laborers, toil that necessitated fully functioning arms and legs.

For arm amputees, basic abilities that had been with them since childhood – picking up utensils to eat or books to read, embracing loved ones, shaking hands with strangers – had to be relearned. John Drake, an inventor and businessman who crafted artificial arms and hands in Boston, created a hand with separate joints locked onto all fingers "so as to be useful in many of the functions of the living limb, such as using a pen, or to lift the weight of fifty pounds or more, to use a knife and fork, and in many occupations for procuring a livelihood."[124] Those who lost their writing hands were at a disadvantage in a variety of jobs that required handwriting; northern newspaperman William Oland Bourne was so concerned about this particular impairment that he held a contest for left-handed penmanship, offering cash prizes for the best samples. Contestants were required to send in photographs to prove they were right-hand

amputees, although there was no demand for evidence that an amputee soldier was not naturally left-handed. One enterprising and probably duplicitous young man sent in a head shot.[125]

Despite the positive rhetoric of the Empty Sleeve narrative, living and working without one or both arms was challenging for veteran amputees. But readjusting to life after wartime service and supporting a family financially were even more difficult for those who had lost one or both legs. As Oliver Wendell Holmes pointed out in "The Human Wheel" (1863), walking on two legs and talking, the two accomplishments that distinguish men from animals, seem to be simple tasks. Yet these abilities are "acquired with vast labor, and very rarely understood in any clear way by those who practise them with perfect ease and unconscious skill." While midcentury inventors had already managed to mimic speech with technology, Holmes pointed out, "no man has been able to make a figure that can *walk*."[126] Most veteran leg amputees required prosthetics to walk and to work, and even then they faced discrimination from employers, who often expressed sympathy but wanted laborers with two fully functioning legs. For prosthetics manufacturers, getting wounded veterans back to work was a primary goal. Douglas Bly's *A New and Important Invention* (1862) detailed the inner workings of his ball-and-joint prosthetic leg and argued for its fitness for rehabilitating leg amputees back into various workplaces. Included in his pamphlet were illustrations of prosthetic-equipped men chopping wood, rolling wheels in a factory, and working as engineers on a train.[127] With the assistance of his device, Bly assured readers, any amputee veteran would be able to find and keep a job.

But finding a job was not as easy as prosthetics manufacturers intimated. After losing a leg at Antietam, Rhode Island artillerist David B. Tanner "earned my living at whatever I could find to do," but supporting his wife and three children made it "imperatively necessary that I should have more means of life, than in my crippled and enfeebled condition I *can* earn." He appealed for help not to prosthetics producers or to employers but to the American people. He published a pamphlet, *Our Limbs Are Lost! Our Country Saved!* (1870) and sold it by subscription, hoping that "a Patriotic and Sympathizing Public" would purchase it and "do for me all that I would be able to do for myself, had I never been required to make such a sacrifice upon the altar of our common heritage."[128] Tanner's

appeal to a sympathetic public to recognize the patriotism symbolized by his amputated limb – to engage in the Empty Sleeve discourse – contrasted directly with the aims of the prosthetic industry, which sought to hide the presence of amputation to "rebuild" American men. Situated in the tradition of mendicant literature, publications such as Tanner's proliferated in the postwar years.[129] Some soldiers also appropriated the medium of photography to make a living; Union private Alfred Stratton, who had both arms amputated in 1864, posed for an 1869 photograph in his Union uniform, its sleeves pinned up; he sold this image on *cartes-de-visite* to support himself and his family.[130] Amputee veterans sold these images, pamphlets, or broadsheets door-to-door or left them on doorsteps with directions to "please preserve this until called for," at which point the amputee would accept payment for the loan.[131]

Amputee veterans did not see the purchase of their literature or images as charity; rather, they saw especially their writing as a business that they could undertake in which their missing limbs were an asset rather than a liability. Some may have also seen it as a way to reassert their independence and thus their manliness. Publishing one's life story was a "means to achieve and to assert a masculine identity, in that the expected profits were to free the poor writer from a financial dependency perceived as feminine."[132] George Murray, who returned from the war and from Andersonville prison in Georgia with a crushed right foot and "all the fingers on my right hand gone, and my arm, from my wrist to my elbow, partially paralyzed," lamented that he was "a wreck of my former self." He was "unable to work and ashamed to beg"; he therefore turned to writing to "support my family comfortably."[133] This business was not like others forming in the postwar era, however. Amputees felt that civilians owed them for their wartime service and expected them to purchase stories for that reason. George Washington Thomas injected this sense of mutual exchange into his epic poem, *The Empty Sleeve* (1874):

> Home again with wife and babies! And though humble was his store,
> Gone was all his power to labor, weak in body, reft of limb,
> Surely he who fed the ravens would be kind and good to him!
> Surely those for whom he battled, who themselves had battled not,
> Would be grateful to their soldier, and ameliorate his lot.[134]

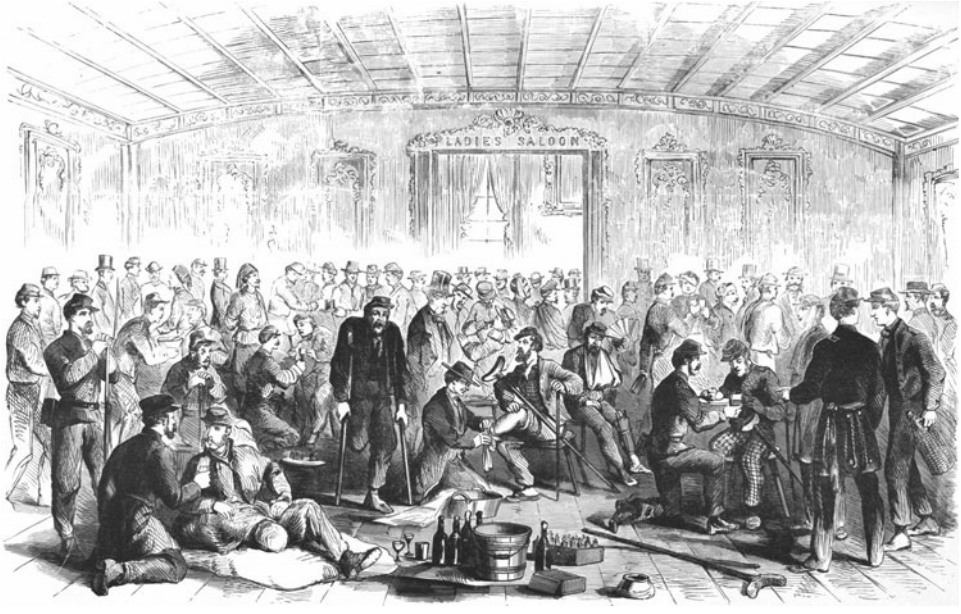

Figure 4.10. *Return of Wounded Soldiers of the Federal Army Captured at Bull Run – Scene in Hampton Roads on Board the United States Steamer 'Louisiana,' to Which They Were Transferred, under a Flag of Truce, October 7, 1861*, *Frank Leslie's Scenes and Portraits of the Civil War* (New York: Mrs. F. Leslie [ca. 1894]), n.p. Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

Here the amputee perceives of his bravery as benefiting "those who had battled not," the civilians for whose freedom he had fought. He uses biblical imagery – the story of Elijah, who was fed by ravens after delivering a prophesy to Ahab in 1 Kings – as a form of moral suasion in the event that his potential customers might not feel the pull of patriotism.

The question of what civilians owed to the ruined men of war emerged quite early in the conflict. One illustration published in *Frank Leslie's Scenes* in 1861, *Return of Wounded Soldiers of the Federal Army Captured at Bull Run*, dramatized this sense of responsibility (see fig. 4.10).[135] This full-page image is filled with wounded Union soldiers aboard the steamship *Louisiana*. The figures in the background are lightly sketched, but separate groupings of injured men comprise the foreground. Three sets of men form the picture's "sacred geometry" (an aesthetic practice common in

religious paintings of the Renaissance); each set comprises two men – one whole man and one incomplete man. The whole man is kneeling down to help the amputee in some way, providing him with food and drink (as with the men on the right) or adjusting his stump's dressings (the men in the middle). By kneeling, these "helpers" become visual equals with the amputees in the picture. Yet one figure disrupts this classical alignment. Just to the left of the central twosome, another amputee stands, leaning on crutches to make up for his missing right leg. He has no helpful, whole man next to him, and he is the only man in the image looking straight at the viewer. This illustration challenged northern civilians quite early in the war effort: how will *you* help the men who have given their limbs for their country?

In answer to this call, some civilians purchased the photographs or pamphlets amputees published (looking them in the eye, as the amputee in the image does), while others gave money to or worked for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, which was established in 1861 and through the Department of General Relief and the Soldiers' Homes cared for wounded soldiers and amputee veterans. Both northern and southern civilians also contributed their time and supplies to local relief organizations, funneling items and services amputee veterans required to make their way in the world. As much as amputees on both sides of the conflict hoped for the respect and sometimes the financial support of civilians, they expected the aid of the government (the federal government in the North or state governments in the South) as recognition of their war service and in exchange for their sacrifice.

Some amputees sought out government jobs as a reward for their military service. James Smith, the governor of Rhode Island, lobbied for such a position on behalf of Michael Gormley, a private in the Third Rhode Island Heavy Artillery who lost his arm during the siege of Fort Wagner in 1863. At Gormley's request, Smith argued that the Medal of Honor winner was "a reliable man" who had "nobly served his country on which he now has a claim for some position."[136] James R. Thomas, who had lost his arm in battle at South Mountain in September 1862, wrote a poem, "When I Left My Good Home," to support himself; he pleads for government aid through job creation:

If Uncle Sam to me would give,
Something that this one hand can do,
I would not ask help of you to live,
My good kind friends of you.[137]

Government officials used the postal service to meet the challenge of finding "something that this one hand can do." In 1865, the Union Congress passed legislation determining that "persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices."[138] Veteran amputees, whether they lost arms or legs, had the capacity to gather mail and run post offices; amputees therefore became common sights along U.S. mail routes. In an 1871 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* article detailing the management of the postal service in New York City, an artist contributed a sketch, *Collecting Letters* (see fig. 4.11), in which a veteran (in a postal service uniform that looks strikingly like a Union soldier's uniform, complete with a kepi-style hat) collects mail from a station box with his right hand and deposits it in a bag slung over his shoulder. He stands so that his empty sleeve, pinned to his left shoulder, is visible to the viewer. Some citizens clearly still found these amputee postal workers troubling despite their patriotism and their status as federal employees. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* published a cartoon before the war had ended depicting the "result of appointing a veteran as postmaster" (see fig. 4.12). A woman and her son wait to receive their mail at "Station B"; the woman recoils when a prosthetic arm emerges from the postmaster's window with a bundle of letters hanging from a hook. The cartoon laments the "startling effect on a susceptible and unprotected female" of receiving letters in this manner. The amputee's prosthetic arm and hook are disembodied; again, the wound supplants the man. The woman is likely disconcerted not only by the fact that technology has replaced a human body part but that it has done so in a profession that seemed to nineteenth-century Americans to be free from the taint of industrialization as well as both deeply human and intimate – the delivery of letters. Here the amputee becomes neither

Figure 4.11. *Collecting Letters*, illustration for "New York City Post-Office," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October 1871, 645. Image courtesy of Diane DeBlois.

a patriotic hero nor a dependent child but a threat to the safety of women, another complicated representation of his masculinity.

While some amputees sought these jobs as a form of moral exchange in which the government rewarded them for their corporeal sacrifice, others found these government positions problematic. Union soldier Henry Meacham, who lost his right arm, "which excludes me from most kinds of work," returned home to Springfield, Massachusetts, in September 1864 and started to work as a watchman at the Water-Shops, a government armory. As a result of the passage of the veteran preference legislation in 1865, however, he "was obliged to resign the position," as keeping this government job would deprive him of his pension.[139] The federal veterans pension system, which had been created in 1862, assigned monetary

STATION
B
LETTERS
RESULT OF APPOINTING A VETERAN AS POSTMASTER.
Startling effect on a susceptible and unprotected female upon receiving a letter with a hook at the end of it.

Figure 4.12. *Result of Appointing a Veteran as Postmaster*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 11, 1865, 336. Image courtesy of Diane DeBlois.

values to disabilities incurred while engaged in military actions or developed as a result of injuries in battle. A series of laws enacted in 1864, 1872, 1879, and 1890 established compensation anatomically, abstracting and then pricing individual fingers, hands, arms, and legs. A man's loss of both hands was worth $25 per month in 1864; by 1875, the payment for these specific losses had increased to $50 per month. By 1880, Union soldiers with one empty sleeve were receiving an annual pension of $432 ($36 per month); those missing two limbs received $1,200 per year.[140] After losing two fingers on his left hand during one of the last engagements in the war, E. D. Woodbury began drawing a $15 monthly pension in March 1866; he spent the next sixty years of his life filing claim after claim to take advantage of new pension laws and increased payouts, and by August 1926, he was earning $108 per month in pension benefits.[141]

Confederate amputees had fewer benefits. Southern veterans were never financially supported by the U.S. federal government, and during Reconstruction, they received little compensation from the states. By the 1880s, however, all eleven former Confederate states had established pensions for disabled veterans. These pensions were restricted to men who could prove a severe disability (usually amputation) suffered in defense of an individual state. In the twenty-five years following the war, the state of Virginia passed at least twenty laws providing prosthetics for the state's veterans.[142] The poverty of the southern states during this period meant that the payments they offered were much lower than Union veteran amputees received. In 1888, Virginia paid veterans with a single amputated limb $30 annually and doubled the payout for double amputees.[143] By 1906, Georgia veterans with single-arm amputations qualified for $50 per year in pensions, while double amputees received $150 per year.[144]

The U.S. government and former Confederate state governments established these pension systems because financial support of former soldiers came to be understood in political and moral terms. These payments were "justly due to the righteous core of a generation of men (and survivors of dead men) – a group that aught to be generously and constantly repaid by the nation for their sacrifices."[145] Despite Americans' general agreement that veterans deserved some form of financial aid, a significant level of disagreement existed regarding the amount and scope of these benefits. Some veterans, especially amputees, took great pride in supporting them-

selves so that they did not require pension money. Others tried to avoid living in the federally funded Soldiers' Homes, which some veterans believed "carried connotations unbecoming to a Gilded Age male." Home residents wore uniforms, and their movements were restricted; some men felt that these arrangements smacked of incarceration or institutionalization.[146]

Regardless of the possible threats to their masculinity involved in dependence on the government for a living, many veterans embraced the moral exchange of limbs for money, especially when the bargain included the provision of prosthetics. In conjunction with the first federal pension law, passed in 1862, the U.S. government appropriated funds "for the purchase of Artificial Limbs for soldiers who have lost their arms and legs in the service." To put this legislation into practice, the surgeon general of the U.S. Army convened a board of physicians to examine prosthetic models, contract with a manufacturer to provide arms and legs to veteran amputees, and choose hospitals as primary care sites for soldiers in need of artificial limbs. The board met first at a New York City hotel on August 27, 1862, and by the fall, Union soldiers who had undergone amputations were being fitted for artificial limbs provided by the federal government.[147]

To receive their "Government Legs," Union soldiers had to provide three documents: their discharge papers, an officer's certificate and affidavit affirming the loss of limb in battle, and an affidavit in which the soldier attested to his injury. Some soldiers also submitted photographs of themselves, many of them taken at the Army Medical Museum as part of a massive federal project documenting the wounds and injuries of Union soldiers.[148] After the medical director of the Department of the East received this written and visual evidence, he would determine the soldier's eligibility for prosthetics; those who qualified received money with which to purchase a limb. In 1862, the government provided the amputee veteran with $75 for an artificial leg and $50 for an artificial arm. Basic models were available for roughly those prices, but the top-of-the-line prosthetics cost between $125 and $150 for legs and $75 for arms, with soldiers expected to make up the difference if they elected to purchase more expensive limbs.[149] The government would also pay for the soldier's transportation to the factory and his lodging while he was being fitted for the prosthetic.[150]

Even if northern surgeons had performed the amputations, Confederate amputees did not qualify for the federal prosthetics program. In January 1864, in the absence of decisive action by the Confederate government, southern civilians created the Association to Purchase Artificial Limbs for Maimed Soldiers. Richmond resident C. K. Marshall advertised this new association in the pages of the *Richmond Enquirer*, calling for civilian activism on behalf of amputees instead of the "unproductive and idle sentimentalism" or the mere "frequent moistening of eyes" that usually greeted Confederate veteran amputees on the streets of southern towns. Marshall noted that at least ten thousand men had lost their limbs in defense of the Confederacy, and if civilians "cannot offer our limbs in the holocaust demanded by the blood-thirsty spirit of our barbarous invaders, may we not furnish the poor substitutes of human contrivance to those who need them?" The new association, he suggested, would raise funds and "have made or imported such artificial limbs as may be needed by those deprived of theirs, and presented to them, not as an act of charity, but conferred as an act of esteem and gratitude – a nation's gratitude and respect." Marshall hoped that the surgeon general of the Confederate Army and the secretary of war would support his organization and that the Confederate Congress would eventually contribute funds as well. Despite economic hardships common throughout the South in 1864–65, and without the aid of the Confederate government, the association collected approximately $50,000.[151]

After the war ended, individual states across the South took charge of this form of veterans' support. North Carolina was the first former Confederate state to provide funds for prosthetics, signing an April 1866 contract with George B. Jewett, a Massachusetts inventor and the manufacturer of the Salem Leg and Arm. North Carolina governor Jonathan Worth provided a building for limb manufacturing in Raleigh and paid Jewett $5,000 in advance; in return, Jewett would sell legs to the state for $75 each, a steep discount. The state also paid for railroad transportation to the factory and housing for amputees during their fittings. The state program ran until 1871, spending $81,310.12 to supply veterans with prosthetic arms and legs.[152] Other southern states followed suit: Mississippi allotted $30,000 to provide limbs or commutations (cash payments that amputee veterans could use to buy prosthetics) in October

1866, while Virginia's state legislature appropriated $20,000 to purchase artificial limbs in 1867. Other former Confederate state governments expressed their desire to purchase limbs for veterans but experienced too much financial chaos during Reconstruction and did not establish programs until after 1877.[153] As Marshall's description of the Virginia Association plan suggests, prosthetic programs on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line were meant to make men appear not weak (through "charity") but strong, recipients of the nation's "gratitude and respect." These programs were understood as rewarding men for their sacrifices and bolstering the Empty Sleeve image of brave and patriotic amputees. But they were also intended to remake American veterans, to gather up their disarticulated parts and make them whole again.

Some amputee veterans reintegrated into American society after being discharged from military service. They courted women, married, and had children who made playthings of their fathers' prosthetics and empty sleeves. Prosthetics also enabled many amputees to return to work and support their families, while others made a living by selling their personal narratives door-to-door or by collecting monthly pension payments. However, throughout their lifetimes, amputees' presence in both northern and southern towns and cities continued to cause consternation and debate. The war transformed their bodies into ruins, and they provoked fears about the nature of wartime and postwar masculinity. Amputees also stood at the center of discussions about the federal government's responsibility for the rehabilitation and support of its injured citizens. Even their prosthetics came to embody a host of fears, an unsettling reminder of the increasingly powerful role of technology in American culture and the ways that war could turn soldiers in "machine men," blurring the lines between the natural and the artificial, the authentic and the fraudulent.

Rebuilding the Ruins of Men: The Prosthetics Industry

Many amputees and their loved ones wished for the miracle of regeneration in the wake of amputation. A reporter for the *Boston Evening Gazette* wrote, "How grateful should a person thus mutilated be should one come before him and touch his stump of an arm or leg, or finger, and bid a new one sprout directly from it, endowed with muscular life and vigor." C. K.

Marshall expressed a similar desire: "And who does not often wish as he meets and passes those noble sufferers, with a silent homage, that he had it in his power, by some divine art, to touch the sawed bone and make it grow again; to bring bone to its fellow bone, and clothe them anew with sinews and flesh, and make the 'lame man leap as an hart?'" Army doctors had the power to remove a man's limbs to save his life, but Civil War Americans clearly yearned for the Christlike ability to restore these limbs with a mere touch and return a man to his "complete" life. Doing so was impossible, of course, but the next best thing was to be found in the lifelike limbs produced by prosthetics manufacturers.[154]

In 1865, Boston inventor Marvin Lincoln published a twenty-page pamphlet advertising his "Patent Artificial Arm" as "practically available in the 'rough and tumble' of every-day life" while at the same time "artistic and beautiful in its shapes and appearances." Such a felicitous combination afforded the wearer "the consciousness that what he uses to conceal his loss, and to assist him in his labors and pleasures, is no disgusting appendage, but, on the contrary, is entirely worthy to fill the 'vacant sleeve.'"[155] Prosthetic arms and legs produced during the Civil War were useful tools that enabled veteran amputees to rejoin the workforce, engage in leisure activities, and continue to fulfill their social obligations. They also, as Lincoln noted, concealed the loss of the limb and gave the wearer a "consciousness" of himself as a whole man whose empty sleeve was filled by a "worthy" substitute for nature. Civil War veterans' desire for prosthetics and the ways that manufacturers advertised their products reveal the ways that the ruined bodies of men remained central to discussions of American manhood even as the empty sleeves were filled. Prosthetics inventions, designs, and distribution – and the men who wore artificial limbs – were seen as emblematic of the nation's technological prowess. But they also called attention to the costs of such achievements, provoking anxieties about what was real and what was counterfeit in American society.

The prosthetic is as old as amputation. Stick crutches evolved into peg-like prostheses more than three thousand years ago; leg amputees attached these pegs with a "cane-like extension to the hand or strapped to the stump by leather braces." During the Middle Ages, armorers created iron legs, arms, and hands for knights to use in battle, the first time that

prosthetics served more than one purpose: these iron devices enabled soldiers to return to the field of battle and hid the evidence of limb loss, which "would have implied failure in a previous battle" and ruined a knight's reputation. Artificial arms or legs evolved little until the early nineteenth century, when London inventor James Potts developed a leg that "carried the mechanical and technical part of his art to a perfection it had not before attained"; one of its novel features was a flexible heel cord meant to replicate the movement of the Achilles tendon. This "Anglesey leg," named after the Marquis of Anglesey, who was injured in the Napoleonic Wars and used and promoted Potts's invention, was one of the models available to amputee soldiers in 1861.[156]

As a result of the tremendous increase in the numbers of amputees and of the availability of federal funds for artificial arms and legs beginning in 1862, northern inventors began to refine and improve prosthetic technologies. As Laurann Figg and Jane Farrell-Beck have discovered, 34 patents for artificial limbs, crutches, or invalid chairs were issued between 1845 and 1861, while 133 patents for these devices were recorded between 1861 and 1873.[157] Contemporaries noticed these changes; as Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote in 1863, "The admirable contrivances of the American inventor, prized as they were in ordinary times, have risen into the character of great national blessings since the necessity for them has become so widely felt."[158] War transformed men into ruins, and prosthetics manufacturers bore responsibility for rebuilding those ruins.

The major prosthetic firms that came to prominence during the Civil War were run by northern inventor-entrepreneurs: Benjamin Franklin Palmer, George B. Jewett, Douglas Bly, D. DeForrest Douglass, Marvin Lincoln, William Selpho, John Drake, and Erasmus Darwin Hudson. All of these men and their firms were based in the Northeast – Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts, and New York City – and they competed for the business of Union amputees. Confederate amputees came into possession of artificial limbs produced by these firms only if they qualified for state-run programs such as North Carolina's during the late 1860s and 1870s. To secure the veteran market, these manufacturers lobbied Congress and the surgeon general of the U.S. Army and competed for military contracts. Because the army permitted soldiers to choose which legs and arms they procured with their pension funds (in another act that may

have restored individuality and masculinity), prosthetics manufacturers began to churn out pamphlet literature that advertised their wares. These pamphlets evolved into a genre; all of them featured an initial statement of reverence for the sacrifices of soldiers, an assertion of the need for a useful prosthetic that was also beautiful and natural, a technical description of the artificial limbs themselves (usually accompanied by diagrams), and a final section consisting of the testimonials of wearers, both military and civilian. These pamphlets reveal that both prosthetics and the men they were meant to remake stood at the center of narratives about American industrialization and the problems that a mechanized culture and a landscape of war – populated by "machine men" – had produced in the mid-nineteenth century.

In "The Human Wheel," Holmes investigated the "art of walking" through a visit to B. F. Palmer's prosthetics factory. Holmes placed artificial limbs within a narrative of American technological progress that included "implements of husbandry which out-mow and out-reap the world": clipper ships, steamboats, and ironclads; sewing machines; the American system of manufacturing; and microscopes and telescopes. Like most American writers of the period, Holmes compared America's arts unfavorably to Europe's but noted that such evidence of mechanical genius "is something for a nation which has hardly pulled up the stumps out of its city market-places." American manufacturers' artificial legs – "a true artist's limb for your cripple to walk upon, instead of the peg on which he has stumped from the days of Guy de Chauliac" – are works of scientific industry that Holmes admires and lauds as products of national genius. They fit so well into this narrative of advancement that they suggested puns that Holmes could not resist. "Legs cannot remain stationary," he wrote cheekily, "while the march of improvement goes on around them, and they, too, have moved onward with the stride of progress."[159]

Technological innovators produced intricate mechanical legs and arms made of a combination of metal shafts and springs, wood, and elastic materials (like cords and catgut) to simulate the bones, muscles, and tendons of the lost limbs. The prosthetics were attached to amputees' stumps with leather straps and fitted bowls, and in the best-case scenarios, merged with the human body so seamlessly that observers could not tell that any limbs were amiss. Such a flawless fusion of machine and man was

indicative of the nation's technological prowess. This union of metal and flesh was an echo, however, of the "intimate albeit violent confrontation between bodies and machines of war that caused the loss of the limb."[160] Holmes recognized that America's great mechanical inventions were also responsible for the carnage of war: "The limbs of our friends and countrymen are a part of the melancholy harvest which War is sweeping down with Dahlgren's mowing-machine and the patent reapers of Springfield and Hartford." Holmes neatly morphed agricultural and wartime killing technologies through his use of metaphor, figuring Springfield rifles as "patent reapers" and both naturalizing and mechanizing wartime losses of limbs. Many soldiers survived the war with pieces of shot and shell still embedded in their bodies, and many amputees saw wartime technologies as having redefined humans as war machines. In "After the War," a cartoon published in the June 20, 1863, issue of *Vanity Fair*, a "Naval Officer" missing his right arm sits on a couch with his wife, Mary. He wraps his left arm around her and says, "You'll have to make the port fin do now, Mary: – I left the starboard one at New Orleans." In this image, the naval officer's body has become a warship.[161]

This cartoon betrays a level of discomfort not only with amputees' courtship rituals but also with industrial progress in American culture and the rise of machine men during the war, an anxiety that was not entirely new in the 1860s. Edgar Allan Poe, the master of the antebellum cultural send-up, published a short story, "The Man That Was Used Up," in the August 1839 issue of *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* lampooning both American masculinity and the nation's military and technological progress. At a party, the narrator meets a remarkable man, Brevet Brigadier General John A. B. C. Smith, a veteran of the Indian Wars (probably the Seminole Wars of the 1830s in Florida) and a man of "wonderful proportions," lustrous black hair, blindingly white teeth, and a sonorous voice. The general "preferred topics of philosophical interest" in conversation and "delighted especially in commenting upon the rapid march of mechanical invention," rhapsodizing about the steamboat, balloon technology, and the wonders of electromagnetics. The narrator is captivated and attempts to find out more about the general and his adventures, but his informants never quite finish Smith's story, instead resorting to a series of interrupted platitudes: "man of great courage, poor fellow! – but this is

a wonderful age for invention . . . quite a desperado – prodigies of valor!" Finally tracking down the general at his home, the narrator discovers on the floor "an exceedingly odd looking bundle of something," which he kicks out of the way. The bundle turns out to be the general, who consists only of parts that his black servant assembles every morning and dismantles every night. The "true nature of affairs," the narrator concludes, is that "Brevet Brigadier General John A. B. C. Smith was the man – was *the man that was used up.*" The exigencies of war have "used up" the general and ruined his body; he is entirely fabricated of technological wonders that create and destroy him on a daily basis. He is a man who is both wondrous and fake, clearly a consternating figure in mid-nineteenth-century America.[162]

During the Civil War, technology was both destructive and constructive, one of the contradictions that amputees – and all ruins of the conflict – embodied. While American inventions "have been carrying death to friend and foe," Holmes wrote, "the beneficent and ingenious inventions of Mr. Palmer have been repairing the losses inflicted by the implements of war." Palmer made his limbs out of willow, a wood that is light, strong, and resistant to warping and thus was considered a "healthy" wood that would not irritate the amputee's stump. Willow was also a technology of war, for it furnished the charcoal for gunpowder that projected bullets out of muzzles and blew men to pieces on battlefields. Holmes pointed out this irony, lauding the tree's ability "to supply the loss it has helped to occasion" while admitting the horrible reality that "war unmakes legs, and human skill must supply their places as it best may."[163] The inextricable link between killing and reconstructive technologies was made material not only in prosthetics themselves but in their production sites. When North Carolina's governor contracted with Jewett to supply artificial limbs, he set up shop in a former Confederate bayonet factory.[164]

Artificial limb manufacturers tended to ignore the technological causes of limb loss and instead focused on claiming a special space for their practice of mechanical inventiveness within the narrative and landscape of American advancement. Palmer argued in an 1859 pamphlet that "the present is an age of *inventions* and *exhibitions.* The International Exhibition in London was an epoch in the world's history which disclosed the sinews of power in the arm of the useful Arts. The inventor and the artisan were

then, for the first time, duly honored and their *rights* fully conceded."[165] The Industrial Revolution that had so transformed production processes and transportation networks in the United States during the antebellum period found its apogee, Palmer argued, in the prosthetics factory.[166] Here, "useful Arts" were undertaken and manufacturing technologies merged with artisanal care to fill empty sleeves and make incomplete men whole again. The artificial limb industry did in some ways "standardize the making of men, coordinating the natural body, self and machine within a single system of rationalized production," but it also promoted individuality within the context of standardization. An article published in the *New York Dispatch* lauding William Selpho's designs for artificial limbs argued that "when a limb is lost, and Nature's framework out of joint, the genius of a[n] inventor can alone supply the proper substitute, for no two cases of loss of limb were ever yet precisely alike."[167]

The attempt to restore the individuality – not the mechanized standardization – of each veteran amputee was an attempt to return what was lost on the battlefield and amputation table; it necessitated the attention of an artisan, not a machinist. Marvin Lincoln reassured his potential customers that his artificial arm "will always be made of the very best materials, in the most thorough and workmanlike manner."[168] Lincoln's assertion that his arms were objects of quality and workmanship suggests to his readers that the prostheses were not mass-produced. During his tour of Palmer's factory, Holmes was surprised to see that each artificial limb was shaped entirely by hand. "We had expected to see great lathes, worked by steam-power," Holmes confessed, "taking in a rough stick and turning out a finished limb. But it is shaped very much as a sculptor finishes his marble, with an eye to artistic effect."[169] Several manufacturers argued precisely this point in their pamphlets – that the individuality of each prosthetic limb necessitated both scientific know-how and artistry. Selpho called himself an "automatic artist," while Lincoln boasted of his arm's artistic beauty.[170] Holmes considered the beneficiary of Palmer's craftsmanship to be not the "stranger, who does not look upon its naked loveliness" but "the wearer, who is seduced by its harmonious outlines into its purchase, and solaced with the consciousness that he carries so much beauty and symmetry along with him."[171] The artisanal quality of the artificial limb, then, was one of its selling points; it created both beauty and symmetry.

Amputee veterans apparently did not want limbs that suggested that they were machine men, standardized products of war. They wanted limbs that suited their unique bodies, technologically advanced yet created by hand. Such limbs would suggest that amputees could be reconstructed and rehabilitated back into American society as "natural" men with individual identities – *real* men.

It was essential that each individual prosthetic limb work well – have strength, lightness, and durability – and thus provide amputees with full range of movement and enable them to work at many different kinds of jobs and engage in leisure activities. But it was equally important, as D. DeForrest Douglass's advertisement in the November 13, 1862, *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* indicated, that an artificial limb be a "successful imitation in form, color, finish, and movement of the natural limb."[172] Limb producers achieved natural movement through the use of flexible cords and elastic materials in addition to springs, which enabled the amputee to walk, ride a horse, eat, or write "naturally." Prosthetists also fashioned limbs that more smoothly integrated the stump and the prosthetic. Palmer's legs had oblong openings in the sides of the limbs to ensure airflow, allowing the amputee's stump to breathe and preventing irritation, which could make the amputee walk awkwardly.[173] Inventors also shaped legs and arms with "nature as a model," using light-colored wood or custom painting the limb to match the wearer's skin tone. John Drake, however, dismissed the use of paint that could chip or fade, instead covering his artificial arms (made of whalebone, steel, India rubber, and leather) with "a delicate skin."[174]

Prosthetics inventors constantly lauded their artificial limbs' ability to mimic bodily movements in addition to their realistic appearance. The limbs were described as "substitutes" (an evocative term during the Civil War as a reference to men hired to replace draftees in battle) as well as "copies" and "impersonations" of nature. Erasmus Darwin Hudson argued that because of his training as a medical doctor (rather than a mere "mechanic," like Palmer), his artificial leg had a "faithful regard to the pathological condition of the mutilated limb, impersonates all of the essential anatomical formations and physiological functions of the natural leg." Here the limb performs all of the functions and movements of a "natural leg"; it is a "faithful" copy of nature. Captain J. H. Chapman, who lost a

leg early in the war and then joined the Union Veteran Reserve Corps to ride "all over the mountains and down the deepest coal mines in Pennsylvania, hunting deserters," played on this idea of faithfulness when he sent a letter to Douglass in February 1865. The letter accompanied Chapman's artificial leg, which he had sent back for repairs, after using it "as a battering ram a few nights since." Here, the prosthetic becomes a weapon of war itself, enabling the soldier's courage in battle: "I send you herewith 'Faithful.' He has stood the banging and tearing of a soldier's life for the past two years most wonderfully." Chapman anthropomorphizes his leg and gives it a name, bestowing on it the double duty of being an authentic or close copy and a loyal and trusted companion. Chapman noted that his knowledge of artificial limbs was extensive, "as I have seen every pattern now manufactured. I would not give 'Faithful' for the whole of them."[175]

The point of this attention to and desire for "faithfulness" in artificial limbs was not only so that veteran amputees would feel as if they were whole again – perhaps even regenerated, partially fulfilling those fervent wishes for miracles – but also so that their family members, fellow townspeople, and strangers would fail to notice their loss of limb. Edgar Crane expressed this awareness of the gaze of others in a June 1868 letter to Douglass: "There is not one person in a thousand that could detect art from nature in my walking." Union brevet lieutenant colonel Edward F. O'Brien, who lost his leg at Cold Harbor, wrote to Jewett in 1866 that with the Salem Leg, he "can mount and ride as well as ever, and can jump with it from the ground on to a horse's back, jump a fence or ditch, with nearly as much ease as I could before I lost my leg. In fact," he reported, "it is so near perfect that very few people believe that I wear an artificial limb."[176] For those amputee veterans who were not interested in "waving the prosthetic" to enter politics or to solicit gratitude for their sacrifices in the postwar years, making others think they were complete men was an important part of their reintegration into American society. Because of anxieties about their manliness and the assumption that they could no longer perform manual labor, many amputee veterans had both an emotional and an economic stake in appearing publicly whole. Because it was a sign of limb loss, a prosthetic that moved so naturally as to be undetectable underneath the masking agent of a man's pants was an advantage and a mark of the success of the prosthetics manufacturer. Many prosthetics

pamphlets include illustrations of amputees in their undergarments as well as clothed, thereby demonstrating the possibilities of invisibility. These images echo those of Gordon, the black slave turned soldier, suggesting that the masking of scars or wounds was a manly act of deception. Artful and natural prosthetics could make men whole – natural – again.

Holmes was mindful of this function of the prosthetic, noting that "at an age when appearances are realities . . . it becomes important to provide the cripple with a limb which shall be presentable in polite society." While touring Palmer's factory, Holmes begged a workman who was a leg amputee to "give us a specimen of his walking." The young man rose from his workbench, walked across the room and back twice, "until we had satisfied ourselves which was the leg of willow and which that of flesh and bone. It is not, perhaps, to the credit of our eyes or observing powers, but it is a fact, that we deliberately selected *the wrong leg.*" That Holmes would, after close observation, not be able to distinguish the natural leg from the faithful copy was to him a sign of Palmer's technological brilliance. "No victim of the thimble-rigger's trickery," he admitted, "was ever more completely taken in than we were by the contrivance of the ingenious Surgeon-Artist."[177] Holmes's assertion here that prosthetics manufactures and amputees engaged in "trickery" by creating and wearing prosthetics that observers could not detect reveals another anxiety imbedded in appearance-driven American culture: were Civil War amputees who they appeared to be?

During the antebellum period, as mobility rates and urbanization increased, the inhabitants of many American cities and towns developed a new social mode, a "culture of strangers." Individuals could not count on family relations or formal introductions to provide strangers with true names and personal histories. In this new milieu, surface impressions were vital components of face-to-face interactions; consequently, not only did both men and women invest money and care in their personal appearance, but they also could manipulate it to deceive strangers.[178] During the Civil War, the massing and mobilization of hundreds of thousands of soldiers and the hiring of substitutes by wealthy individuals looking to avoid wartime service created opportunities for enterprising men to recreate their identities and their autobiographies. Because both northerners and southerners placed so much emphasis on (and trusted) the visual cues

of military uniforms, the stripes and stars of officers, and empty sleeves pinned to a man's breast pocket, any man who dressed the part of the veteran amputee instantly communicated a narrative (real or fake) of his wartime experiences.

Faking wounds or amputation seemed to many Civil War soldiers and civilians to be the worst kind of wartime deceit. In one northern political cartoon, *A Manufactured Accident*, an "Alarmed Wife" confronts her husband at the front door of their home (see fig. 4.13). He is dressed in a nice suit and hat but has his right arm in a sling and his left knee resting on a cork leg. Minnie asks anxiously, "Dear, dear! George, what's the matter? What has happened to your leg and arm?," and George replies, "Hush, Minnie! – it's all right. I've only put these things on to bother the conscription man; he's just behind." George is turned to the side so that the viewer may see that his whole left leg is perched at a right angle behind the prosthetic and that he has used a canteen to fake the arm amputation. This cartoon appears as the central image in a May 1863 polyptych, *The Conscription in Prospect – The Would-Be Exempts*; it clearly reveals concerns about able-bodied northern men shirking their patriotic duty by presenting themselves falsely as war amputees to elude Union conscription agents. As much as many Americans wanted to stay out of the killing fields of the South, this kind of draft dodging was denigrated both privately and publicly.

Many Americans were similarly disturbed by the prospect of veterans fraudulently claiming wartime wounds to gain social sympathy or economic advantage. But such duplicitous acts were common. Although Michigan veteran Charles Cummings admits in his philanthropic pamphlet *The Great War Relic* that he had lost his legs in an 1873 railroad accident, not a Civil War battle, this detail does not appear until near the end of his narrative of wartime glory and patriotism. Cummings is not completely disingenuous but relies on the reader's assumption from the title and his wartime story that he is a veteran amputee; he engages in this deception because he has no other way to support his wife and children.[179]

Like Cummings, Illinois veteran John W. January manipulated his image as a war amputee and his personal story to earn money and fame. January was captured near Macon, Georgia, in August 1864 and transported to the Confederate prison at Charleston. The winter of 1864–65

A MANUFACTURED ACCIDENT.
ALARMED WIFE—"Dear, dear! George, what's the matter? What has happened to your leg and arm?"
HUSBAND (in a whisper)—"Hush, Minnie!—it's all right. I've only put these things on to bother the conscription man; he's just behind."

Figure 4.13. *The Conscription in Prospect – The Would-Be Exempts [A Manufactured Accident]*, May 1863. Item No. 55, Folder 2, Box 1, Civil War Cartoons Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

was particularly brutal in South Carolina, and many Union prisoners, including January, suffered frostbite. What happened after this point is still disputed. January, who went on the lecture circuit later in his life, claimed that both of his feet became frostbitten and then infected with gangrene. The Confederate surgeon gave him up for dead, but as January wrote, "I was determined to live and begged him to cut my feet off, telling him if he would that I could live. He still refused, and believing that my life depended on the removal of my feet, I secured an old pocket-knife (I have it now in my possession), and, cutting through the decaying flesh and severing the tendons, the feet were soon unjointed."[180] During his lectures, January would dramatically remove the knife from his pocket (rusty bloodstains still apparent on its blade) and then unstrap his prosthetics, reenacting his self-amputation as an act of courage and bravery in wartime while simultaneously presenting it as a theatrical spectacle.

George Reed, a fellow Union prisoner in Charleston, published a different account of January's story. According to Reed, he and William Comstock began to perform amputations in camp because the Confederate surgeon in residence had been using Union soldiers as medical specimens, killing most of them to teach his medical students about proper procedures. Reed and Comstock gathered together what instruments they could – "a brick-bat, an old knife and pair of scissors" – and began to take off other prisoners' diseased arms and legs. Reed contended that the pair of amateur surgeons amputated January's feet, and "after the second foot had been taken off he began to improve." Reed pointed out that January had admitted his lies but nevertheless continued to sell his story in public lecture halls through the late 1880s. Others even tried to get in on the action: Dr. W. H. Bradley, a former army surgeon, surfaced with "January's feet," which he exhibited to paying customers at the Historical Association of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1888. Reed claimed that these feet were fake as well, for he had buried January's feet, and he presumed that they remained three feet deep in Carolina soil.[181] For January, a sensationalized and probably fictionalized story of his amputation sold tickets and fed his wife and six children; Reed's denial was part of an emerging genre of exposé literature as well as a moneymaker – his account was included in Cummings's pamphlet, and Reed may have shared in the profits.

It is impossible to know how many soldiers or civilians may have pretended to be wartime amputees to secure charity or postwar work and pensions. Amputees had a claim on public sympathy, and because of the very real socioeconomic challenges that veteran amputees faced, duplicity was sometimes necessary and often profitable.[182] Most veteran amputees, however, were eager to establish the veracity of their claims; those who wrote philanthropic pamphlets often included "testimonial" letters from physicians and fellow soldiers. Tanner ended *Our Limbs Are Lost!* with a statement by George C. Harkness, the first lieutenant of his battery, certifying that "the bearer, David B. Tanner, was a member of Battery D, 1st Regiment, R.I. Light Artillery, and received the injury whereby he lost his leg while doing duty with the Battery."[183] The Union government as well as the southern state governments certainly wanted to confirm soldiers' identities and thus prevent fraudulent claims.[184] Any Confederate amputee living in North Carolina was required to obtain a certificate from the county clerk verifying his company, regiment, and the limb(s) lost; the state's Artificial Limb Department would corroborate this certificate before providing the amputee with further instructions for procuring his limb.[185] This process suggests not only that government officials anticipated fraudulent activities within the Artificial Limb Department but also that the "devices of verification" at times could be misappropriated. Multiple methods of corroboration were therefore necessary.[186]

Veteran amputees were not the only ones subject to scrutiny regarding counterfeit claims. Prosthetic manufacturers, who sought to trick observers into thinking incomplete men were whole, were often suspected of fraud. Douglass clearly believed that his competitors engaged in false advertising, writing as a preface to his testimonial section, "I would call particular attention to the following testimonials of the Medical profession, and my patients. *They are all given in full.* The dates are not purposely withheld. Some manufacturers make use of fossilized testimonials, honestly given when the art of surgical appliances was in its *crudest form.* They *now* have no bearing on the subject."[187] Even worse than false testimonials were prosthetics whose technologies as illustrated in pamphlets and advertisements were not as advanced in reality. Selpho argued that this kind of deception was detrimental to veteran amputees in several

ways: "Nothing can be more painful to the wearer of an imperfect piece of mechanism than the reflection that he has been grossly deceived by the representations made to him of alleviation of his misery – that he has sacrificed not only his money but his personal comfort also – and that he has been utterly defeated in all his flattering hopes and expectations."[188] Trickery on the part of limb manufacturers was expected and even desired – but only in the attempt to copy nature, not in the art of lying to amputees, who would lose their money, their "personal comfort," and all of their hopes for living as complete men.

In their pamphlets, prosthetics producers asserted that they were not engaging in duplicitous business practices. Further, they sought to prevent counterfeit products based on their designs from entering the market. In a November 1862 advertisement for "Palmer's Premium Artificial Leg" in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Palmer protested that "several imitators have recently sprung up, who are endeavoring to deceive the public by pretended improvements, which in their practical application are absolutely worthless."[189] Palmer was outraged when he found out that other prosthetics manufacturers imitated his designs, patented dubious "improvements," and then argued that their models were superior to the Palmer Leg. He was also upset to learn that a fraudulent dealer had presented a counterfeit "Palmer" Leg to the army surgeon general in 1862: "If done with a design to secure orders for limbs for the United States troops, as I suppose it must have been, it is a *gross fraud*."[190] Palmer and other prosthetics manufacturers defended their patents in their pamphlets. Douglass cautioned readers "against such parties and their imitations, as the entire patent is under my immediate control, and no Legs are genuine unless manufactured under it, duly authorized by me," while Douglas Bly warned the public (and possible counterfeiters) that anyone who produced his leg without permission or bought one from an unlicensed dealer did so "at his peril."[191] Prosthetics manufacturing was big business during and after the Civil War: with around forty-five thousand northern and southern men in need of prosthetics at between seventy-five and one hundred dollars each, and these limbs requiring regular replacement and repair, prosthetics entrepreneurs stood to make millions of dollars. To do so, they needed to protect their reputations and their

inventions. They therefore filed patent claims and published denunciations of fraudulent manufacturers, asserting the authenticity and originality of their technological wonders.

The Civil War prosthetics industry was thus deeply contradictory. Manufacturers used materials and mechanical inventions that unmade bodies on the battlefield to remake them with artificial limbs. They also marketed their products as "copies of nature," yet their business models depended on the prevention of product counterfeiting. Prosthetics manufacturers set out to rebuild amputee veterans – to make them whole again by replacing their missing limbs with copies made of wood, steel, bone, and rubber. They promoted artificial limbs as part of a distinctly American narrative and history of technological progress and simultaneously portrayed them as artistic works, created by hand to regenerate the masculinity of amputees through a masterful melding of art and science. In attempting to conceal the loss of their limbs, amputees as well as prosthetics manufacturers engaged in a complicated counterfeiting process in which appearances and reality blurred. Artificial limbs and the ruined bodies they were meant to restore to wholeness became sites of debate about the unsettling slippage of the fake and the real in an increasingly mechanized American culture.

In the winter of 1864, private Charles Ingham was discharged from the Union Army after being wounded in both thighs at the Battle of the Wilderness. "My mind often wanders away to the Regt," he confessed to a friend, "for in my scars I have a constant reminder of the scenes which may at any moment be reenacted."[192] For Ingham, the record of war – the "scenes which may at any moment be reenacted" – was written in his body. Whenever he felt residual pain, Ingham's thoughts drifted back to the war and to his regiment. Whenever any of his family members or strangers saw his scars or his awkward walk, they recognized his war service and his patriotic sacrifice. Ingham and the hundreds of thousands of other men were transformed by the war's technologies. Those who were unlucky died in the field, unidentified and rendered anonymous through their disarticulation. Those who were lucky carried the marks of war's violence back with them as they came home to girlfriends, wives, and families who often did not know what to make of their loved ones. These

ruined men – in reality and in the visual images that proliferated during the war – were problematic figures, provoking anxieties about masculinity, prompting discussions about obligations to those who gave their limbs for the nation, and raising doubts about the invasive ways that technology transformed the lives and bodies of midcentury Americans. Veterans' torn and shattered bodies seemed to undermine their abilities to act as American men – to woo, marry, procreate, work, and vote. And although their bodies were often objectified and stripped of historicity and individuality, injured soldiers and amputee veterans became "sentient memorials" to the war.[193] Like shattered cities, houses, and forests, these men were wartime ruins, material reminders of the war's violence.

And like these other sites of wartime ruination, veteran amputees were also ephemeral. Although they outlived the other ruins of the war – perhaps standing in "for all the burnt and destroyed objects" – homes, books, clothing, photographs – "that over the years would become increasingly difficult to visualize and remember," these men ultimately died.[194] As the nineteenth century wore on, increasing numbers of wounded and amputee veterans were buried in plots far from the soils that subsumed their lost arms and legs. But at the same time that these men with missing limbs and shattered bodies became subjects of revulsion, worry, fascination, and sympathy, the arms, legs, and bones that had become disembodied during the war became medical and cultural specimens, traded and displayed as fragments of war. They were kept in "curiosity boxes" or exhibited in museums and historical societies. These fragments – the pieces of men and other war debris – are the only Civil War ruins that exist today, creating links to the past and embodying the war's memory.

CONCLUSION

The Ruins of History

After slogging through the swampy ravines of Mississippi during Grant's campaign for Vicksburg in May 1863, Ohio sergeant Osborn Oldroyd confessed to looking forward to the siege of the city and the sharpshooting practice it would afford him. As he and his men fired over the edge of their rifle pits at the Confederates, who were near enough to spot with the naked eye, the bullets flew with "the familiar zip and whiz." So many of them littered the ground around the Union lines that Oldroyd "gathered quite a collection of balls, which I mean to send home as relics of the siege. They are in a variety of shapes, and if a thousand brought together, there could not be found two alike." Oldroyd was pleased by his bounty of unique keepsakes and by the fact that he was "the only known collector of such souvenirs, and have many odd and rare specimens." They were not valuable in a monetary sense – there were too many of them lying about for that – but Oldroyd was optimistic about their future worth. "Should I survive," he wrote, "I would like to look at them again in after years."[1]

As northern and southern troops moved through the landscapes of the South during the Civil War, they transformed cities, homes, forests, and bodies into ruins. It was a shared experience, a national project. Sometimes they were ordered to destroy these things by commanders convinced that hard-war strategies would bring the conflict to a close. Other times, the destruction arose from anger, vengeance, greed, or a desire for self-preservation. In all of these cases, soldiers used both newly developed and increasingly accurate and long-range killing technologies (torpedoes, mines, rifles, and artillery) and the most basic of destructive implements (fire, axes, and hands) to create these ruins. And as they did so, these men took fragments of the ruins and saved myriad other material objects as mementos of their experiences. These objects, many of them mundane, were viewed, described, collected, redistributed, transported, displayed, traded, and cherished, ultimately finding their way from parlors to museum display cases. To soldiers and civilians, these objects came to embody the war and its histories. This fetishizing of evocative, mnemonic objects – and the simultaneous and rapid erasure of Civil War ruins within a generation of the war's end – reveals a tendency in American culture to consume rather than directly confront the past.

Collecting Fragments

Souvenir collecting began almost as soon as men were mustered into service. In September 1862, Massachusetts chaplain Frank Morse wrote to his wife, Ellen, "I am trying to gather up all the specimens I can and curiosities to carry home."[2] So many men picked up such a variety of items on battlefields, along roadways, in the enemy's camps, and in local houses that some soldiers characterized it as a craze – "relic fever," a "craving for spoils and relics."[3] Soldiers loaded boxes with the souvenirs of their battles (spent bullets like Oldroyd's were most popular) and of the southern homes that they ransacked and burned; northern men also collected and sent home objects they viewed as "peculiarly" southern. Massachusetts soldier Charles Ripley wrote "long and interesting letters," his mother noted, "with ever and anon a flower or weed unlike what he has seen at home."[4] Ripley and other soldiers sent persimmons, oranges, sprigs of holly, magnolia blossoms, live oak leaves, strands of tillandsia (Spanish

moss), grains of "Georgia rice," and bolls of cotton – all as evidence of the South's exotic verdure.[5] With these, soldiers collected curiosities taken from enemy camps and fortifications; they wrote on "rebel" or "Yankee" paper and mailed home the enemy's letters, along with money – Confederate "shin plasters" (twenty-dollar bills) were popular items – and military documents.[6]

Both the specter and reality of death also provoked the accumulation of objects.[7] While the gun smoke still drifted among the trees, soldiers wandered through battlefields, pulling up grass, and picking leaves and flowers from the site of a comrade's or sibling's death or burial, sending home natural relics that "retained and represented something of the spirit of the departed" who had died far from home.[8] Some friends and family members received even more intimate mementos of the dead: personal effects (such as watches, tintypes, rings, and diaries) and snips of hair collected from the wounded and the dead.[9] Keeping and handling such objects would help keep alive the memory of a loved one. In this same spirit, soldiers requested that their family members retain everything sent back. Edward Tobey Barker instructed his mother to keep his souvenirs "in some safe place with my letters so I can have them when I get home."[10] For many soldiers, these items were mnemonic devices; looking at them or picking them up provoked memories about where the soldiers had been when they acquired the objects.[11]

When sending home souvenirs, Civil War soldiers anticipated their futures, dreaming about afternoons spent sifting through boxes of war relics and reactivating the vivid memories of what for many of them were the seminal moments of their lives. The Civil War was a significant, transitional event; war souvenirs, therefore, "form a compendium which is an autobiography."[12] When they used the phrases *if I ever get home* or *if I survive*, these men conveyed a sense of hope: they would survive the war, go home, and at some future moment use these objects to tell their war stories. These souvenirs, then, like other ruins of war, seemed to conflate time: they embodied both present and past, allowing veterans and their relatives to narrate their autobiographies by recalling where they were and what they were doing on a certain day. Both soldiers and civilians felt compelled to begin collecting war souvenirs with an eye toward privately contemplating their past in the future.

Just as soldiers began to narrate their war experiences by collecting souvenirs, curators also began to accumulate objects destined for public display. The first authorized collecting project began in 1862, when the U.S. Surgeon General's Office ordered Union Army physicians to accumulate items for display in what would become the Army Medical Museum.[13] By January 1863, the Surgeon General's Office had amassed 1,349 objects, most of them bones and 133 of them minié balls, shot, grape, canister, and fragments of shell "which, for the great part, had been extracted from the body." Within five years, the number of specimens had more than doubled, and staff organized them into specimen cases and other displays, which opened to the public in the spring of 1867. By 1872, the Army Medical Museum had acquired more than 15,000 fragments of bodies and the projectiles that had ruined them.[14] Despite its emphasis on the individual identification and history of its objects, the Army Medical Museum did not put forth a larger narrative of the war through its displays.[15] What individual soldiers did for the objects they collected – giving them meaning in a larger autobiographical story – was not the function of the museum. Here, curators organized items in cases by type of specimen (surgical, medical, anatomical, and microscopic) and numbered them in chronological order not by their date of "production" or removal but according to their date of arrival at the museum. In this context, "war relics" were removed or abstracted from the larger story of the war and its collective memory.

This absence of narrative was common at other public sites of war memory both during and after the conflict, including Sanitary Fairs – large-scale events offering a range of objects for sale to raise money for the troops during the war – and battlefield park museums.[16] At the 1864 New York Metropolitan Fair, the largest and most financially successful of these wartime fairs, organizers created a Department of Arms and Trophies, which displayed more than one thousand objects collected from battlefields and camps across the South.[17] Through these objects, civilians could access authentic wartime experiences. Like the Army Medical Museum, the Department of Arms and Trophies did not present a story of the war; these fragments of the conflict were arranged according to aesthetics. Fair organizers argued that this collection was not meant to be a "national museum of relics," although "it was really more complete than

any museum the nation owns." Ephemerality prevented the department from being a true museum: "Its existence was to be so brief as to make it undesirable to attempt an index of our great struggle, – that would only be worth while if the collection could endure long enough for purposes of study."[18] But postwar museums and exhibits were just as ephemeral. The 1888 Exchange Hotel exhibit in Fredericksburg, Virginia, lasted for less than a year; until the establishment of national battlefield parks, exhibits of shot and shell gathered from "sacred ground" appeared suddenly on their fringes and disappeared just as rapidly.[19] And here again, there were no narratives of the war, only objects arranged by type and labeled accordingly. What mattered now was the belief that these fragments were invested with the spirit of the past, which viewers could feel as they gazed at the objects. This moment of transportation, the feeling of travel through time, became paramount. This "period rush," as contemporary war reenactors call it, became the purpose of war museum collecting and display in the late nineteenth century. At the same time that these fragments of war were being disassociated from the larger narrative of the wartime experience, the ruins from which they came were systematically erased from the American landscape.

A Nation of Traces

The history of Civil War ruins between 1861 and 1865 and into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggests that America is a nation of traces, not of ruins. As I have demonstrated in each chapter of this book, wartime ruins were transient elements of the American landscape. While Civil War soldiers and civilians and the tourists who flocked to the South's cities within a year or two of the war's end were interested in roaming around the burned districts and piles of brick and marble, those who came much later were more intrigued by battlegrounds or famous intact buildings, such as Richmond's Libby Prison. City buildings and plantation Big Houses were rebuilt; slave cabins were often left to disintegrate, material reminders of slavery that no one wanted to keep; vast fields of stumps were grubbed up to make way for agricultural fields or new twentieth-century towns; ghost forests were left to grow over, transformed only now and then into battle logs; and amputee veterans purchased prosthetics and

made themselves whole again. When the last of these veterans died, these incomplete men disappeared, just as the other ruins of war had done before them.

Written and visual images of ruination had been powerful and popular cultural products both during and after the war; these images were central icons in the discourse of civilized warfare, in the visual culture of an impressively technologically advanced war machine, and in the growing literature of the Lost Cause. Despite this desire to consume such images in literature and art, no voices called for the preservation of actual wartime ruins. If any remained – like Millwood, in Columbia, South Carolina – they sat silently where they were, quietly overrun by vines and creepers only because their owners lacked the money to rebuild. When the region eventually recovered economically, southerners reacted not by preserving structures in ruin but by restoring them to their former grandeur. This movement within historic preservation societies has resulted in the prominence of "whole" mansions and commercial buildings in southern cities and plantations, presenting a past that seems to have occurred entirely before 1860.[20] Some war ruins were absorbed into different forms, like the Franklin County Courthouse in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which is built out of a combination of the rubble of 1864 and stone hewn in the 1870s. Such buildings represent another cycle of destruction and construction of wartime ruins, effectively erasing the ruin and leaving only traces.

Today, one rarely finds the ruins of war integrated into the nation's urban or rural environments. Ruins are also largely absent from Civil War battlefield parks. Some sites have retained the foundations of houses – the Richardson house on the Bull Run battlefield and the Stephens house at Fredericksburg – and a few lone chimneys still dot the Civil War landscape, as in the case of the ruins of the Methodist Parsonage at Malvern Hill and the Taylor Farm ruins within the Union lines at Petersburg (see figs. 5.1 and 5.2). But house foundations are not ruins (too little remains to rebuild the structure in the mind), and the lone chimneys often stand with only the barest of contextual explanation on battlefield maps and plaques. Other "wartime" ruins – like the jagged walls of the Tredegar Iron Works, partial home of the Richmond Civil War Museum – turn out to be products of the postwar period. They are folly ruins in the landscape of Civil War memory.[21]

Figure 5.1. *Methodist Parsonage*, Malvern Hill, September 2008. Photograph by the author.

As in southern cities, the more common strategy in battlefield parks is to restore destroyed buildings like the Henry house at Bull Run or to construct replicas, as with the reproductions of soldiers' huts at Petersburg National Battlefield Park. The plans to restore Gettysburg to its natural landscape of 1863 involve the planting of historically accurate (presumably uninjured) tree stands but do not include the reintegration of charred houses and barns into the battlefield. The ruins of war, described at length in diaries and letters, fought over and obsessed about during the war, have no place in America's material and spatial memory of the conflict. Just as northerners and southerners created ruins together during wartime and had almost identical responses to them, residents of both regions worked together to erase those ruins from the American landscape after 1865.

Why?

First, this eradication of ruins in the Civil War landscape was another avenue of national reconciliation. To restore the Union, both northerners

Figure 5.2. *Taylor Farm*, Petersburg National Battlefield Park, September 2008. Photograph by the author.

and southerners had to destroy it and then repurpose its ruins. J. B. Jackson saw this process as essential to the production of all American landscapes of memory. For Americans to cherish the past, "there has to be an interval of neglect, there has to be continuity," he wrote. "Ruins provide the incentive for restoration, for the return to origins." The combination of the creation and transformation of ruins into traces is what makes historical landscapes possible in America.[22] But the literal reconstruction of the South as a means to national reunion is not the only story here. There is also the story of a more widespread cultural aversion to ruins in the American landscape.

Sites of collective trauma are problematic; they create tensions regarding memorialization. On the one hand, they signify the kind of experience that Americans view as uniquely authentic and present the possibility of a visceral, intensely emotional connection to past events. On the other hand, representing traumatic events in built space is tricky business, especially because "sanctification and obliteration occupy extremes of the continuum" in historic sites distinguished by violence and tragedy. Landscapes that symbolize positive virtues are revered and preserved, while events that are particularly shameful are destroyed or effaced.[23] In

some places, however, Americans have kept the ruins produced by traumatic events and have integrated them into memorial spaces. In Oklahoma City, for example, planners faced a decision about whether to use pieces of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building – the April 1995 target of the most destructive domestic terrorist event in American history to that point – in the memorial site. One month later, following the investigation of the attack, most of the surviving structure was razed. Planners had already decided that the footprint of the building would remain as a "sacred space," and they kept one wall, on the east side of the footprint, and several granite panels from the building's interior. The panels were mounted on the ruined wall and inscribed with the names of more than six hundred survivors of the bombing.[24] What is striking about this memorial is that the ruins are present not to achieve one of the site's stated goals – making sure that visitors leave "know[ing] the impact of violence" – but to frame the visitor's understanding of survival in the wake of that violence. The ruin does not memorialize the names of the dead but the names of the living.

The future memorial at Ground Zero in New York City, commemorating the September 11, 2001, destruction of several buildings and more than three thousand lives, promotes a similar vision of ruination and survival. Several girders from the World Trade Center towers will be integrated into the museum site, which is underground, beneath the towers' footprints. These items will be placed in an exhibit hall next to photographs of the intact towers, connecting past and present in a narrative that emphasizes the girders as survivors of the event – witness trees made of steel. The gift shop at the 9/11 Memorial Museum sells a range of commemorative objects, but few of them represent ruins. One of the only objects that does is a paperweight that contains a photograph of the "shard of wall" that remained after the towers' collapse. Anthony Whitaker's *Steel Standing* has become an iconic image of the World Trade Center attacks (see fig. 5.3). The shard twists and bends upward into the sky, with gaping holes where windows used to be. In this form, the architectural detail of the first two floors is startling: these lancet arches are visual references to Gothic churches, assuring that this ruined wall will be invested with religious significance. The shard is surrounded by heaps of rubble, and in front of it sits an excavator, the sun glinting off of its digging arm.

Figure 5.3. Anthony Whitaker, *Steel Standing*, 2001, steel ruin of South Tower's facade, WTC, New York City. Courtesy of Anthony Whitaker.

The presence of this construction equipment problematizes the caption of the photograph and the message of the paperweight: "Steel Standing." Because, of course, the shard is not "steel standing." It no longer exists, for the excavator did its work just days after this image was taken. The survival of the ruin, it seems, is a thing of the past, a message reinforced by the fact that this photograph is reproduced in black-and-white. The girders that remain and that will be integrated into the 9/11 Memorial as a museum exhibit are much like the Civil War souvenirs that ended up in display cases. They testify not to larger questions and issues of history but only to the astonishing nature of their own survival as bits and pieces of the past.

These twentieth- and twenty-first-century ruins – or rather, traces of ruins – are complicated and often conflicting icons in American sites of trauma. In their memorial spaces, they are orderly, contained, and controlled. As such, they echo the ways that ruins have been subsumed into the landscape of Civil War memory. Because Civil War ruination – through sieges of urban areas, hard-war tactics aimed at homes, the massive consumption of trees, and the ripping apart of men's bodies – represents the malevolent side of warfare, Americans have dealt with its legacy by maintaining battlefields as gloriously pristine fields of green grass and largely omitting the violent debris that battles actually created. As David Lowenthal has noted, few people "have the taste or training to appreciate the past simply from fragmentary remains." These fragments must be reconstructed, repurposed, and sanitized to be understood.[25] Instead of preserving the ruins of traumatic events in situ – in all of their dusty, chaotic, and confounding glory – Americans have repurposed them. Although the echo of the ruin reverberates forward in Civil War sites, these places produce nostalgia rather than a true understanding of the past.[26] These acts of subsumption, sanitation, and abstraction are not about *completely* forgetting the past. But they are about remembering only a sense of it – experiencing the period rush – rather than directly confronting the complicated nature of that history. And this phenomenon is perhaps more insidious than merely forgetting.

The ruins of war provoked a tremendous amount of discussion between 1861 and 1865 – about the nature of civilized warfare, the legitimacy of

retribution, the taking of responsibility, the relationship between domesticity and privacy, the necessity of destruction in the construction of landscapes of war, the unstable ideal of American masculinity, and the authenticity of modernity. The erasure of these ruins has quelled conversation, and we have lapsed into a kind of hushed reverence in the war's historic places. Such is the true cost of the final transformation of Civil War ruins from a persistent material reality to an echo that is barely heard. The real history of the Civil War is dark and twisty. Without its ruins, we cannot fully understand the terrifying nature of wartime violence and the complex and contradictory nation that it created.

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NOTES

Abbreviations

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
HMS	Harvard Medical School, Center for the History of Medicine, Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
NHHS	New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord
OR	U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*
RIAS	Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study, Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, Mass.
RIHS	Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence
SCL	South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C.
UVA	University of Virginia, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville
VHS	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

Introduction. American Ruins

1. John Worrell Northrop Diary, December 9, 1864, in Northrop, *Chronicles*, 185, 186.

2. John West Haley Diary, May 10, 1865, 358, 359, VHS.

3. Mark M. Smith, "Time, Slavery, and Plantation Capitalism," 143, 147–48, 151, 160–61, 167. For cultural analyses of time during the early nineteenth century, see also Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*; Adam, *Timewatch*; Landes, *Revolution in Time*; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch.* For studies of time during the Civil War specifically, see Wells, "Battle Time"; Wells, *Civil War Time.*

4. Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes*, 40.

5. Crèvecoeur joined John Ruskin and François-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, as early decriers of the new nation's lack of ruins or interest in them. See Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 5, 27. In 2004, Makarius, an art historian, wrote that the United States is "a country whose national conscience was without images of ruin until September 11, 2001" (*Ruins*, 236, 238).

6. See, for example, Thomas Cole's painting, *Desolation*, the last in his polyptych, *The Course of Empire* (1836), and his *View of Mt. Aetna from Taormina, Sicily* (1844).

7. Amateur, *Art*, frontispiece, plates 1, 2, 5, pp. 31, 32, 35. For a discussion of the aesthetic understanding of and pleasure in ruins before and during the Civil War,

see Megan Kate Nelson, "The Pleasures of Civil War Ruins," in *Weirding the War*, ed. Berry, 37–56.

8. Joseph Addison, Letter No. 412, *The Spectator*, June 23, 1712, in Addison and Steele, *Selected Essays*, 465–68; Woodward, *In Ruins*, 121; John Baillie, *An Essay on the Sublime* (1747), in *The Sublime*, ed. Ashfield and de Bolla, 88–90; Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1759), in *The Sublime*, ed. Ashfield and de Bolla, 132; Joseph Addison, Letter No. 414, *The Spectator*, June 25, 1712, in Addison and Steele, *Selected Essays*, 65; William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772), in *The Sublime*, ed. Ashfield and de Bolla, 270; Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1794), in *The Sublime*, ed. Ashfield and de Bolla, 274.

9. Sears, *Sacred Places*, 3; Mooney-Melvin, "Harnessing the Romance," 35; Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics*, 1–2; Leuck, *American Writers*.

10. Irwin, "Symbol," 103; Parr, "Site," 128; Macaulay, *Pleasure of Ruins*, 133.

11. *Southern Quarterly Review* 15 (July 1849), quoted in Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas*, 159.

12. Albert G. Brackett quoted in ibid., 156.

13. Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 5–6. See also Truett, "America's Ghosts."

14. Some intrepid travelers extended their southern tours to include Mammoth Cave in Kentucky. Sears, *Sacred Places*, 3–4; Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 47–49; Leuck, *American Writers*, 15, 54–57, 73, 80; Gassan, *Birth of American Tourism*, 85–104, 107.

15. Priest, *American Antiquities*; Hinsley, "Digging for Identity," 182, 184; Dahl, "Mound-Builders," 178; Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 6, 47–48.

16. Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 47–48; Atwater, "Description"; William Cullen Bryant, "The Prairies" (1832), in *Chief American Poets*, ed. Curtis Hidden Page, 19.

17. Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes*, 13–14, 15, 29, 35; DeLay, *War*, xv, 35–85.

18. Herron, "Detroit," 669; Atack and Margo, "Location, Location, Location!," 156; Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 8.

19. This term is Yablon's (*Untimely Ruins*, 109, 11). See also Max Page, *City's End*, 28–29.

20. Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 5–6, 30, 88.

21. Lincoln, speech to the Republican National Convention, June 16, 1858, in Abraham Lincoln, *This Fiery Trial*, 43–44.

22. Henry Jarvis Raymond to William Lowndes Yancey, December 10, 1860, in *Disunion and Slavery*, ed. Raymond, 20.

23. John Gill Shorter to Joseph Emerson Brown, January 3, 1861, in Brown, *Official Correspondence*, 9.

24. Neely has argued that the Civil War was "remarkable for its traditional restraint," and Paskoff has proven through an analysis of census records in counties that had a "direct experience" of the war (36 percent of the Confederacy) that

only about 4 percent of the towns and cities in the South were destroyed, directly affecting less than 1 percent of the Confederate population. See Neely, *Civil War*, 108; Paskoff, "Measures of War," 41, 47. These studies are useful because they determine the extent of physical damage, especially to the South's built environments. And they suggest – although they do not explore – the ways that wartime ruins wielded an emotional and imaginative power far out of proportion to their actual presence in the southern landscape. For further discussions of hard-war policy and varying levels of destruction, see Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*; Tooley, "'All the People.'" On the matter of American enthusiasm for destruction during the war, see Royster, *Destructive War*.

25. See Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*; Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes*; Max Page, *City's End*. In the nascent field of Civil War environmental studies, Kirby, Brady, Fiege, and Steinberg have centered their discussions on the South's landscapes of sustenance – the fields of wheat, corn, and cotton that fueled the Confederate war effort. Most environmental historians of the Civil War mention the ways that soldiers clear-cut or set fire to southern woodlands (Kirby and Brady give forests some attention in their works), but many have not yet investigated in detail the damage to trees and forests during marches, the establishment of camps, and skirmishes and battles. See Mark Fiege, "Gettysburg and the Organic Nature of the Civil War," in *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally*, ed. Tucker and Russell, 93; Kirby, "American Civil War," 1–3; Kirby, *Mockingbird Song*, 35, 95–101, 128–34, 177, 260; Brady, "Wilderness of War"; Brady, "War upon the Land"; Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 89–98.

26. See, among many others, Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*; Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*; Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*; Clarke, *War Stories*.

Chapter One. Our Own Pompeii

1. Ashworth, *War and the City* 8, 12, 18, 66; Keegan, *History of Warfare*, 139.

2. Raymond Mohl, "Introduction," and Gary B. Nash, "The Social Evolution of Preindustrial American Cities, 1700–1820," both in *Making of Urban America*, ed. Mohl, 7, 10, 16, 33; Upton, *Another City*.

3. Ashworth, *War and the City*, 112; Archer Jones, *Art of War*, 416; Hagerman, *American Civil War*, xi.

4. Burrell, *Damn the Torpedoes!*, 153.

5. Cooling, "Defending Washington," 330, 332.

6. General Winfield Scott to the President from West Point, June 24, 1862, in Abraham Lincoln, *Abraham Lincoln*, 2:187.

7. Archer Jones, *Art of War*, 418; Ashworth, *War and the City*, 8, 13, 19.

8. Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 2.

9. Ashworth, *War and the City*, 113–14; Watson, *Sieges*, 129.

10. Archer Jones, *Art of War*, 417–18. On Confederates' sense of themselves and their nation and the challenges to these ideologies, see Faust, *Creation of Confederate Nationalism*; Rubin, *Shattered Nation*; Bernath, *Confederate Minds*.

11. "The Old Church at Hampton, Virginia," *Harper's Weekly*, July 12, 1862, 438.

12. Edward A. Goodwin to His Sister, Mary, from Hampton, Va., July 5, 1861, Edward A. Goodwin Civil War Letters, in "Genealogy-Biography," ed. Gizzarelli, RIHS.

13. Harpers Ferry was technically the first urban area to experience wartime destruction. Federal soldiers abandoning the town after Virginia's secession in April 1861 burned its weapons arsenal and several warehouses. Because Harpers Ferry was strategically located in the eastern theater, it changed hands several times during the war and played host to several skirmishes and one large battle, and much of its business district was burned, rebuilt, and burned again.

14. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 5.

15. Ibid., 6, 7. Because of its small population (relative to Richmond, which had almost forty thousand residents in 1860), Hampton was not officially considered a city in 1860, although many observers referred to it as such. It did display many urban traits, however, including a concentrated business district and architectural density, which is why I characterize it as an urban area here.

16. Shelby Foote, *Civil War*, 1:54; Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 13–14.

17. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 14, 15; Shelby Foote, *Civil War*, 1:161, 539; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 355; Cimbala, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 4.

18. Bonekemper, "Negro Ownership," 169–70.

19. Many southerners reported that Union soldiers had torched one-third of the town before retreating to Fortress Monroe. Magruder referred to Hampton being "set on fire and evacuated" after a show of Confederate force in late July. Butler, however, asserted that during their occupation of the town, Union soldiers did only one hundred dollars' worth of damage, most of it in stolen furniture. See John B. Magruder Report from Williamsburg, August 2, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 569; Magruder Report to George Deas from Bethel, August 9, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 571; Benjamin Butler Report to Winfield Scott from Fortress Monroe, August 8, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 567; Benjamin Butler to Winfield Scott, June 4, 1861, quoted in Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 52–53; Judith McGuire Diary, July 4, 1861, in McGuire, *Diary*, 36.

20. Magruder Report to Deas, August 9, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 571.

21. Ibid.; S. H. Stringham Report to Gideon Welles from the USS *Minnesota*, August 8, 1861, U.S. Naval Office, *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 6, p. 66.

22. "The Burning of Hampton," *Harper's Weekly*, August 31, 1861, 554; Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 130; Stringham Report to Welles, August 8, 1861, U.S. Naval Office, *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 6, p. 66.

23. Stringham Report to Welles, August 8, 1861, U.S. Naval Office, *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 6, p. 66.

24. Magruder Report to Deas, August 9, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 573.

25. Ibid.

26. "The Hampton Exiles" and Letter to the Editor, *Richmond Enquirer*, January 28, 1862, 2.

27. Letter to the Editor, *Richmond Enquirer*, February 8, 1862, 2.

28. "A Committee Met at the Richmond *Whig* Office," *Richmond Enquirer*, February 10, 1862, 3; W. C. Rives, Wyndham Robertson, George Woodbridge, T. V. Moore, J. L. Burrows, D. S. Doggett, and J. B. Jeter, "An Appeal on Behalf of the Hampton Refugees," *Richmond Enquirer*, February 12, 1862, 2.

29. Butler Report to Scott, August 8, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 568.

30. Ibid.

31. Sutherland has argued that the Union Army's hard-war tactics were implemented in 1862 under John Pope, but Sutherland, too, focuses more on soldiers "living off the land" – southern plantations – than on both Union and Confederate ruination of southern cities. See Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln." For debates about whether the Civil War was a "total war" in this regard, see Walters, "General William T. Sherman"; Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy"; Neely, "Was the Civil War a Total War?"; Glatthaar, *March to the Sea*; Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*; Neely, *Civil War*; Paskoff, "Measures of War."

32. Halleck, *Elements*, 249.

33. Ibid., 185, 191.

34. Butler Report to Scott, August 8, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, pp. 567–68.

35. Halleck, *Elements*, 204.

36. Butler Report to Scott, August 8, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 568; J. W. Phelps Report to Charles C. Churchill from Newport News, August 11, 1861, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 4, chap. 13, p. 569. As Keegan has noted, Native Americans and other "warrior peoples" who "made every man a soldier" actually embraced "reasonable responses to determined resistance, made no fetish of hopeless courage, and took careful material measure of the utility of violence" (*History of Warfare*, 364).

37. Nineteenth-century Americans liked to look at urban ruins; lithographs of city fires were popular in the antebellum period, and images of the Civil War's city ruins proliferated almost immediately. Images of the destroyed bridge and arsenal at Harpers Ferry circulated in the summer of 1861, and just a few weeks after the burning of Hampton, an illustration of it appeared on the front page of *Harper's Weekly*. Most of the images of cities in the process of ruination and pictures of the smoking piles of rubble that remained contained visual elements familiar to viewers of landscape paintings and city views in the antebellum period. The viewer watches the scene from an elevated prospect, separated from the ruin by some kind of barrier (a river or a road), and perceives the ruin from an angle so that the extent of the architectural destruction is visible. These images

suggest the emergence of a wartime aesthetic of ruination, which many soldiers and civilians found appealing. For images of ruined cities before and during wartime, see Henry R. Robinson, *A View of the Ruins of the Great Fire of New York, as It Appeared from the Corner of Broad & Beaver Streets at 3 o'Clock p.m. on the 19th of July 1845 Only Twelve Hours after Its Commencement,* Lithographs Collection, AAS; Reps, *Bird's Eye Views*; "The Burning of Hampton by the Rebel Forces under Colonel Magruder," *Harper's Weekly*, August 31, 1861, 550; Currier and Ives, *The Fall of Richmond, Va. on the Night of April 2nd, 1865,* 1865, Lithographs Collection, AAS.

38. John B. Cary to His Wife from Yorktown, January 31, 1862, Cary Family Papers, VHS. I thank Amy Murrell Taylor for bringing this letter to my attention.

39. Alfred Lewis Castleman Diary, March 25, 1862, in Castleman, *Behind the Scenes*, 104, 106; Alexander Hays to Annie Adams McFadden Hays, March 29, 1862, in Hays, *Life and Letters*, 200.

40. Yablon, "Metropolitan Life in Ruins," 312, 332–33; Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 4, 7.

41. John B. Cary to His Wife from Yorktown, January 31, 1862, Cary Family Papers, VHS.

42. Trowbridge, *The South*, 220.

43. Bonekemper, "Negro Ownership," 167.

44. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 19.

45. Ibid., 16.

46. Reidy, "'Coming from the Shadow,'" 427.

47. Upton, "White and Black Landscapes"; Vlach, *Back of the Big House*; Herman, *Town House.*

48. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 21.

49. Fairfax, *Hampton, Virginia*, 8; Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 27. It is unclear when locals or officials began using the phrase *Grand Contraband Camp* to refer to the city of Hampton. Amy Murrell Taylor has been able to track that name only as far back as an 1878 map located at the Hampton History Museum (personal communication with author).

50. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, xvi, 23; Testimony of F. W. Bird to the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission, December 24, 1863, Document No. 28 in *Freedom*, ed. Berlin et al., 177, 178. I thank Amy Murrell Taylor for drawing my attention to this document. The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission was established in March 1863 by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to investigate the condition of black refugees and to determine the nature and extent of government responsibility for them. See Cimbala, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 6, 7.

51. Testimony of F. W. Bird, in *Freedom*, ed. Berlin et al., 179; Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 21; Fairfax, *Hampton, Virginia*, 8, 11–12; Bonekemper, "Negro Ownership," 170.

52. William Channing Thomas to His Father from Hampton Roads, Va., November 18, 1862, William Channing Thomas Civil War Letters, Folder 5, Box 2, Kent and Thomas Family Papers, NHHS.

53. Charles P. Day to S. S. Jocelyn, Camp Hamilton, August 11, 1862, American Missionary Association Archives [microfilm], Virginia, 1848–63, Reel 206. I thank Amy Murrell Taylor for this document.

54. "History," contrabandhistoricalsociety.org (accessed February 5, 2010); Fairfax, *Hampton, Virginia*, 12.

55. Trowbridge, *The South*, 220.

56. Testimony of F. W. Bird, in *Freedom*, ed. Berlin et al., 178; Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 27.

57. Reidy, "'Coming from the Shadow,'" 409; Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," January 1, 1863, in Gienapp, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 165.

58. Trowbridge, *The South*, 220, 221.

59. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 2, 17, 21, 24, 26, 27; Fairfax, *Hampton, Virginia*, 11–12; Bonekemper, "Negro Ownership," 171, 172, 174, 176, 177. The other American Missionary Association lots on the Hampton River were used to build the Hampton Institute.

60. Editorial, *Richmond Enquirer*, August 6, 1864, 2.

61. Fannie Page Hume Braxton Diary, December 12, 1862, *Orange Review*, February 26, 1948.

62. George B. Ayres, "Complete Report of the Burning and Destruction of Chambersburg by the Rebel Invaders," *Hagerstown (Md.) Herald and Torch Light*, August 1864, Washington County Free Library Historic Newspaper Indexing Project.

63. McCauley, *Historical Sketch*, 10–14, 18–22, 52, 107, 115–16; Schein Associates, *National Register*, 1–3; Everard H. Smith, "Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," 440.

64. Early, *Memoir*, 57.

65. J. Scott Moore, "Unwritten History," 317–18. Article 19, *General Articles No. 100 (The Lieber Code)*, in "Avalon Project."

66. Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 281. See also Gallagher, *Shenandoah Valley Campaign*.

67. J. Scott Moore, "Unwritten History," 318–19.

68. Ibid.; Early, *Memoir*, 56–57, 59; Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle*, 209–12; "Burning of Chambersburg," *Harper's Weekly*, August 20, 1864, 542; Slingluff, "Burning of Chambersburg"; Ayres, "Complete Report"; Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 15–17, 18–30, 42–43, 31–34, 34–37, 44–51, 51–58, 59–65; "The Burning of Chambersburg," Document 93, in Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, 537–44; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 104–41.

69. Schneck, "Buildings Burned," in *Burning of Chambersburg*, 74.

70. B. Bausman, ["Incidents and Reflections"], in ibid., 36, 37.

71. McCauley, *Historical Sketch*, 156–57; Schein Associates, *National Register*, 1–3.

72. "The Rebel Raid in Maryland," *Harper's Weekly*, November 1, 1862, 698; Everard H. Smith, "Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," 440; Charles F. Morse to Robert Morse, October 11, 1862, Folder 5, Box 1, Charles F. Morse Papers, MHS.

73. Everard H. Smith, "Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," 434.

74. Robert E. Lee, General Orders No. 73, June 27, 1863, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 27, chap. 39, pt. 3, p. 943.

75. Slingluff, "Burning of Chambersburg," 156.

76. Everard H. Smith, "Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," 440.

77. T. G. Apple, "A Vindication of the Border," *German Reformed Messenger*, September 7, 1864, in Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 31.

78. Annie R. Maney to Bettie Kimberly, May 12, 1861, quoted in Royster, *Destructive War*, 35.

79. Jefferson Davis, Speech at Stevenson, Alabama, 1861, quoted in Trowbridge, *The South*, 563 n.1.

80. Editorial [on Retaliation], *Richmond Enquirer*, August 6, 1864, 2.

81. Halleck, *Elements*, 199, 200.

82. Articles 27, 28, *General Articles No. 100 (The Lieber Code)*, in "Avalon Project."

83. Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle*, 209–10.

84. Early, *Memoir*, 59n; "Why Chambersburg Was Burned," *New York Herald*, in *Staunton Vindicator*, August 26, 1864, 1, Civil War Newspapers, Valley of the Shadow Project.

85. "Retaliation" [editorial], *Richmond Enquirer*, August 5, 1864, 2.

86. Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle*, 209; Early, *Memoir*, 57.

87. "The Burning of Chambersburg," *National Intelligencer*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, August 5, 1864, 1.

88. Early, *Memoir*, 57.

89. "The Burning of Chambersburg," *National Intelligencer*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, August 5, 1864, 1; "Retaliation" [editorial], *Richmond Enquirer*, August 5, 1864, 2.

90. J. Scott Moore, "Unwritten History," 319.

91. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 15.

92. Ibid., 44, 70; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 110.

93. Halleck, "Retaliation in War," 110, 111.

94. David Hundley Diary, August 1, 1864, in Hundley, *Prison Echoes*, 235.

95. Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 112.

96. Coffin, *Four Years of Fighting*, 442.

97. Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 135; Slingluff, "Burning of Chambersburg," 160.

98. Henry Kaiser Diary, August 17, 1864, quoted in Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 183.

99. Allen Campbell to His Father, December 21, 1864, quoted in Glatthaar, *March to the Sea*, 139.

100. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 38, 39, 41.

101. "Why Chambersburg Was Burned," *New York Herald*, in *Staunton Vindicator*, August 26, 1864, 1, Civil War Newspapers, Valley of the Shadow Project; Early, *Memoir*, 59n.

102. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 8.

103. J. Scott Moore, "Unwritten History," 316.

104. Ayres, "Complete Report."

105. "Burning of Chambersburg," *Harper's Weekly*, August 20, 1864, 542.

106. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 6; Couch-Averell Correspondence, July 27, 1864, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, chap. 49, pt. 2, pp. 477–78.

107. Major General D. N. Couch to General W. W. Averell, July 30, 1864, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, chap. 49, pt. 2, p. 514. Couch provided three of the four telegrams – omitting the quoted telegram – in his official report to Henry Halleck on the burning of Chambersburg. See D. N. Couch to Henry Halleck, August 8, 1864, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 37, chap. 49, pt. 1, p. 332.

108. Thomas Bard to Jacob Hoke, February 14, 1884, in Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 134; Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 280.

109. Brigadier General William W. Averell to Major General D. N. Couch, July 30, 1864, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 38, chap. 49, pt. 2, p. 515.

110. "Burning of Chambersburg," *Harper's Weekly*, August 20, 1864, 542; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 135; Ayres, "Complete Report"; Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 9.

111. Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*, 23.

112. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 75; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 136.

113. Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 136. Thomas Bard wrote, "May this narrative come to the notice of the Historian, . . . let him not omit to trace out the causes which led to the destruction of their homes, but let him be assured that posterity will expect him to assign Some reason explaining why there was then withheld from that loyal people the protection which the Government is always bound to afford, and which at that disastrous time, as this narrative shows, could so easily have been provided" (Thomas Bard to Jacob Hoke, February 14, 1884, in Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 134).

114. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 5.

115. S. J. Niccolls to *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*, in Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 58; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 118, 128.

116. Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 7; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 116.

117. Ayres, "Complete Report;" John K. Shryock, [Account of August 6, 1864], *Philadelphia Lutheran and Missionary*, August 11, 1864, in Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 61; Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of the War*, 117.

118. Thomas L. Wilson, *Sufferings Endured*, 243.

119. Trowbridge, *The South*, 34, 38–39.

120. *Columbia Phoenix*, March 21, 1865, quoted in Aiken, introduction to Simms, *City Laid Waste*, 34.

121. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 3.

122. Kevin Rosario, "Making Progress: Disaster Narratives and the Art of Optimism in Modern America," in *Resilient City*, ed. Vale and Campanella, 27.

123. Ibid., 31.

124. Lucas, *Sherman*, 19; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 46.

125. John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 52.

126. Lucas, *Sherman*, 20; Green, "Profile," 105.

127. Whilden, *Recollections*, 8; Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 8; Royster, *Destructive War*, 6.

128. Lucas, *Sherman*, 22, 24, 27–28, 29; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 26–27, 190.

129. Lucas, *Sherman*, 24.

130. Wood and Sherman, "Burning of Columbia," 403; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 183; Coffin, *Four Years of Fighting*, 440; Oscar Lawrence Jackson Diary, February 1865, in Oscar Lawrence Jackson, *Colonel's Diary*, 184; Bundy, *Autobiography*, 69.

131. Emma LeConte Diary, January 4, February 5, 1865, in LeConte, *When the World Ended*, 8, 25–26.

132. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 9; *Columbia Daily South Carolinian*, January 11, 1865, quoted in Lucas, *Sherman*, 36.

133. According to Andrew, Wheeler and his men had already developed quite a reputation for "lawlessness and plundering southern civilians exceeded only by Sherman's." That they would have begun the work of pillaging Columbia did not surprise many of its residents (Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 256).

134. Royster, *Destructive War*, 9, 12, 13; Lucas, *Sherman*, 68–69; William Tecumseh Sherman Report to Ulysses S. Grant, April 4, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, p. 20.

135. Lucas, *Sherman*, 68; Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 261.

136. Sherman Report to Grant, April 4, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, pp. 20, 21.

137. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 12; Emma LeConte Diary, February 17, March 18, 1865, in LeConte, *When the World Ended*, 39, 82–83.

138. Lucas, *Sherman*, 70, 75.

139. T. J. Goodw[y]n to William Tecumseh Sherman, February 17, 1865, in *Columbia Phoenix*, March 21, 1865; Lucas, *Sherman*, 75; Wade Hampton to *Baltimore Enquirer*, June 24, 1873, in *Burning of Columbia*, 7–8.

140. William Tecumseh Sherman, Special Field Order No. 26 [February 16, 1865], *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, p. 444; Lucas, *Sherman*, 49.

141. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:280.

142. Charles G. Ward Diary, February 17, 1865, SCL.

143. Dannelly, *Destruction*, 11; Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 7, 17; Trowbridge, *The South*, 556–57; Rhodes, "Who Burned Columbia?," 491; Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 264.

144. Wood and Sherman, "Burning of Columbia," 402.

145. Emma LeConte Diary, February 21, 1865, in LeConte, *When the World Ended*, 60.

146. Ibid., February 18, 1865, 45–46; Frank F. Whilden, "Account [of the Burning of Columbia]," in "Anniversary of Burning of City," *Columbia (S.C.) State*, February 17, 1922, 10.

147. W. B. Woods Report to Captain Frederick H. Wilson, February 22, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, p. 529; Charles G. Ward Diary, February 18, 1865; Sherman Report to Grant, April 4, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, pp. 21, 22; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:286.

148. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 3; Carpini, "Reconstructing Columbia," 3; Lucas, *Sherman*, 128. These statistics make it clear that the business district was the center of the fire; the 193 commercial buildings destroyed comprised roughly 95 percent of the city's total buildings devoted to retail and manufacturing.

149. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:287.

150. Whilden, *Recollections*, 18. Although Whilden saw her activities as a boon for her family, this type of scavenging appalled August Conrad, a German businessman who had been involved in blockade-running: "There was, however, all the time a considerable number of disgusting figures, who still lingered in the place once called Columbia, who were busily engaged in rummaging the piles of *debris*, and seeking for the melted gold and silver" (Conrad, *Destruction of Columbia, S.C.*, 27–28).

151. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, March 7, 1865, Grace Brown Elmore Reminiscences, 71–72, SCL; Robert W. Gibbes to His Son, Washington Allston Gibbes, March 14, 1865, Folder 17, Robert W. Gibbes Papers, SCL.

152. Emma LeConte Diary, February 18, 1865, in LeConte, *When the World Ended*, 44.

153. Mary [Missie] E. Harper to Rosa Reeves, February 24, 1865, in Rosa Glen Reeves Witte Civil War Memoir, SCL.

154. John William De Forest, "The First Time under Fire," 1864, in Masur, *Real War*, 95.

155. Quoted in Royster, *Destructive War*, 22.

156. See Hughes, *Swearing*.

157. Quoted in Royster, *Destructive War*, 27, 29.

158. See Cohen and Vandello, "'When You Call Me That, Smile!'"; Cohen and Nisbett, "Insult."

159. Emma LeConte Diary, February 18, 1865, in LeConte, *When the World Ended*, 49.

160. Campbell, *When Sherman Marched*, 62.

161. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 24.

162. Campbell, *When Sherman Marched*, 62.

163. Harriett Ravenel, "The Burning of Columbia, 1865," quoted in ibid., 63.

164. Sophie Sosnowski, "Burning of Columbia: A Thrilling, Faithful Description of a National Passion," 22, Folder 2, Papers of the Sosnowski and Schaller Families, SCL.

165. Campbell, *When Sherman Marched*, 74.

166. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, March 7, 1865, 71. A Columbia resident named Mary wrote to Jane Smythe on March 25, 1865, that although she had "no words to describe the scene," she had managed to write a full account of it to "the Dicksons two weeks ago." Mary also noted that "Simms employs almost the same language, in the little paper that has been printed since the fires in Columbia" (Folder 16, Adger-Smyth[e]-Flynn Family Papers, SCL).

167. Lepore has made this point in a different context in *Name of War*, xv.

168. Wade Hampton to William Tecumseh Sherman, February 27, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, pp. 596–97; Lucas, *Sherman*, 129.

169. Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, xiii, xiv, xv, 264, 267, 269.

170. Sherman Report to Grant, April 4, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, pp. 21, 22.

171. Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 261, 263.

172. Greenberg, "Nose," 62.

173. Lucas, *Sherman*, 130; Aiken, introduction to Simms, *City Laid Waste*, 30.

174. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, March 7, 1865, 71; Lucas, *Sherman*, 131; Trezevant, *Burning of Columbia, S.C.*, 4.

175. F. G. DeFontaine, preface to Trezevant, *Burning of Columbia, S.C.*, 4.

176. Dannelly, *Destruction*, 17.

177. The report was not published until 1893. See Carroll, *Report of the Committee*, 6.

178. House of Representatives, Report of Robert S. Hale, quoted in Lucas, *Sherman*, 133.

179. *Who Burnt Columbia?*, pt. 1.

180. Wade Hampton to *Baltimore Enquirer*, June 24, 1873, in *Who Burnt Columbia?*, pt. 2, 3.

181. Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 318.

182. Dannelly, *Destruction*, 5, 11.

183. Green, "Profile," 119; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 204; Rhodes, "Who Burned Columbia?," 493; Royster, *Destructive War*, 25; Robert W. Gibbes to His Son, Washington Allston Gibbes, March 14, 1865, Folder 17, Gibbes Papers.

184. Greenberg, "Nose," 63; Kenneth S. Greenberg, "The Appearance of Honor and the Honor of Appearance," in *The Old South*, ed. Mark M. Smith, 80–81. See also Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*.

185. Wade Hampton to William Tecumseh Sherman, February 27, 1865, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 47, chap. 59, pt. 2, pp. 596, 597.

186. Halleck, *Elements*, 181.

187. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:287.

188. Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 33.

189. "Sherman's True Victory," *Harper's Weekly* 9, no. 427 (March 4, 1865), 130.

190. Wood and Sherman, "Burning of Columbia," 400.

191. The *Columbia Daily Phoenix* reported that by February 1866, "200 buildings have replaced those destroyed," although about twenty years passed before the business district fully recovered from its losses in the fire. See *Columbia Daily Phoenix*, February 17, 1866, quoted in McAlpine, "'All Kinds of Furniture,'" 3; Henry, "Columbia's Main Street," 1.

Chapter Two. Lone Chimneys

1. "Hunter's Conduct near Sweet Springs," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 4, 1864, 1.

2. Robert E. Lee to Mary Custis Lee, December 25, 1861, in Lee, *Recollections and Letters*, 59.

3. "Old Virginia," *Montgomery Mail*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, July 22, 1864, 1.

4. Article 14, *General Orders No. 100 (The Lieber Code)*, in "Avalon Project."

5. John West Haley Diary, October 8, 1862, 38, VHS.

6. A. T. Holliday to His Wife, Elizabeth, from Atlanta, July 28, 1864, Folder 3, Box 1, A. T. and Elizabeth Holliday Civil War Correspondence, Atlanta History Center, Kenan Research Center, Atlanta.

7. Charles Follen Adams to His Sister from Belle Plain, March 21, 1863, Charles Follen Adams Papers, MHS.

8. Fox, *Record*, 47.

9. Edward Tobey Barker to His Mother from Stono Inlet, May 31, 1862, Edward Tobey Barker Letters, Box 4, Barker-Edes-Noyes Family Papers, MHS; Edward Tobey Barker Diary, May 30, 1862, Edward Tobey Barker Diaries, Box 5, Barker-Edes-Noyes Family Papers.

10. John West Haley Diary, October 8, 1862, 38.

11. Hamilton Branch to His Mother from near New Hope Church, June 2, 1864, Hamilton Branch Civil War Letters, Folder 1, Box 3, Branch Family Papers, University of Georgia, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Athens.

12. John Fox to Tom Fox from Williamsport, June 8, 1862, Box 23, Fox Family Papers, MHS.

13. Oscar Lawrence Jackson Diary, October [26], 1863, in Oscar Lawrence Jackson, *Colonel's Diary*, 101.

14. Harry Dingam Diary, November 30, 1864, quoted in Glatthaar, *March to the Sea*, 71.

15. Gordon Thompson to His Wife from Wilmington, N.C., April 4, 1862, Gordon Thompson Papers, VHS.

16. Sutherland, *Savage Conflict*, ix.

17. Walter Poor to Mary Poor from Norfolk, July 2, 1862, Mary Pierce Poor Civil War Letters, Folder 262, Box 16, Poor Family Papers, RIAS.

18. Fox, *Record*, 62.

19. Howard Dwight to "Chap" from Helena, Arkansas, August 29, 1862, Box "1862: Jan. to August," Dwight Family Papers, MHS.

20. Judith McGuire Diary, August 1864, in McGuire, *Diary*, 294–95.

21. John West Haley Diary, December 11, 1864, 277–78.

22. John Singleton Mosby to J. E. B. Stuart from Fauquier County, Va., February 4, 1863, Bryan Family Papers, VHS.

23. "From the Enquirer's Special Correspondent, from Northern Virginia, June 1, 1864," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 10, 1864, 1.

24. "Punishment by Fire," *New York Daily News*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, February 2, 1864, 2.

25. Wilder Dwight to His Mother from near Seneca, November 16, 1861, Box "1861," Dwight Family Papers.

26. Watson C. Hitchcock to His Parents from Savannah, December 28, 1864, Box 2, Watson C. Hitchcock Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

27. Fred Marion to His Sister, January 24, 1865, quoted in Glatthaar, *March to the Sea*, 79.

28. John A. Fox to His Sister from Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 12, 1865, Miscellaneous Folder, Box 23, Fox Family Papers.

29. Major George Nichols quoted in Trezevant, *Burning of Columbia, S.C.*, 9.

30. Sebastian Duncan to His Mother, February 1, 1865, quoted in Glatthaar, *March to the Sea*, 140.

31. Chandler F. Perry Sr. to His Wife from Fairfax County, July 12, 1861, Perry Family Correspondence, Maine Historical Society, Portland.

32. William Hotchkin Diary, September 29, 1864, 5, UVA.

33. Oscar Lawrence Jackson Diary, February 1865, in Oscar Lawrence Jackson, *Colonel's Diary*, 184.

34. Carroll, *Report*, 10.

35. George Neville to Nellie Newman, March 1, 1864, George Neville Letters, UVA; John Reuben Thompson Diary, March 16, 1864, Bryan Family Collection, UVA; "Hunter's Movements," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 22, 1864, 1; Governor John Letcher to Mayor Mayo, July 5, 1864, from Lexington, in *Richmond Enquirer*, July 20, 1864, 1; "From the Rappahannock," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 6, 1864, 1.

36. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 4:456, VHS; "A Bonfire to Governor Brown – His House Burned," *Macon Intelligencer*, reprinted in *Richmond Enquirer*, November 23, 1864, 1.

37. Julia Jellison Wright, "The High School in War Time" (n.d.), 2, Folder 15, Carton 2, Girls' High School Association Records, RIAS.

38. Attacking the houses of prominent politicians has a long history in Anglo-American culture. During the Revolutionary War, colonists surrounded, looted, and burned the homes of royal appointees (most famously, Thomas Hutchinson). Such acts were highly symbolic; the mob did not intend literally to destroy the owner of the house but rather sought to ruin him through the destruction of his possessions (St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 287).

39. Eugene Harrison Freeman to J. D. and Mrs. J. D. Freeman, June 6, 1864, in Warren Hapgood Freeman and Freeman, *Letters*, 119.

40. Elizabeth (Alsop) Wynne Diary, July 3, 1862, Wynne Family Papers, VHS.

41. Whilden, *Recollections*, 11–13.

42. Articles 22, 44, *General Orders No. 100 (Lieber Code)*, in "Avalon Project."

43. Charles Morse to Robert Morse from camp near Winchester, March 15, 1862, Folder 3, Box 1, Charles F. Morse Papers, MHS.

44. Watson C. Hitchcock to His Parents from near Loudoun Heights, October 31–November 1, 1862, Box 1, Hitchcock Papers.

45. Richard Cary to His Wife from near Front Royal, June 21, 1862, Richard Cary Letters, MHS.

46. Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln," 571, 574, 576.

47. *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, pp. 50–52, vol. 12, pt. 3, p. 509; Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln," 577–78.

48. Abraham Lincoln, Executive Order Authorizing the Employment of "Contrabands," July 22, 1862, reprinted in Abraham Lincoln, *Abraham Lincoln*, 2:212; Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln," 581.

49. Richard Cary to His Wife from near Washington, Va., July 29, 1862, Cary Letters.

50. "Effects of Gen. Pope's Orders," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 18, 1862, 1.

51. "A Yankee's Letter," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 30, 1862, 1; Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln," 582.

52. Glatthaar, *March to the Sea*, 141.

53. Ibid., 76, 77, 133.

54. William Tecumseh Sherman to [Atlanta City Council] from Atlanta, September 12, 1864, William Tecumseh Sherman to Ulysses S. Grant from Kingston, Ga., November 6, 1864, both in Gienapp, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 254, 256.

55. Neely, *Civil War*, 111, 115, 131; Paskoff, "Measures of War," 45.

56. Judith McGuire Diary, May 1861, in McGuire, *Diary*, 21–22.

57. Shamir, *Inexpressible Privacy*, 9–10, 158.

58. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 47; Romero, *Home Fronts*, 63–64; Shamir, *Inexpressible Privacy*, 2. On nineteenth-century American domestic spaces and gender, see Kelley, "Sentimentalists"; Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity"; Sanchez-Eppler, "American Houses"; Diffley, "Where My Heart Is Turning Ever"; Motz and Browne, *Making the American Home*; Janna Jones, "Distance from Home"; Mezei and Briganti, "Reading the House"; Thomas Foster, *Transformations*; Richter, *Home on the Rails*; Klimasmith, *At Home in the City*.

59. Lisa Tendrich Frank, "Bedrooms as Battlefields: The Role of Gender Politics in Sherman's March," in *Occupied Women*, ed. Whites and Long, 33.

60. R. M. Conrad to Daniel Burr Conrad, September 13, 1862, Section 10, Holmes Conrad Papers, VHS.

61. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, February 21, 1865, Grace Brown Elmore Reminiscences, 50–51, SCL.

62. St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 270.

63. McGuire, *Diary*, 21–22.

64. Missie E. Harper to Rosa Reeves from Columbia, February 24, 1865, in Rosa Glen Reeves Witte Civil War Memoir, SCL.

65. Marietta Fauntleroy (Turner) Powell to Her Cousin, Mary Custis Lee, December 29, 1864, Section 24, Lee Correspondence.

66. "A Lady in the Yankee Lines," *Atlanta Register*, March 1864, in *Richmond Enquirer*, March 23, 1864, 2.

67. Maria Linsey Dobyns Roane Garnett Letter, June 17, 1864, VHS.

68. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, February 21, 1865, 52.

69. Ibid., March 10, 1865, 72–73.

70. The cultural and legal sanctification of a woman's bedroom during her confinement and labor was both confirmed and established in the court case *DeMay v. Roberts* (Michigan, 1881). A birthing mother, Alvira Roberts, sued her physician, John DeMay, for bringing a stranger into her bedroom during the delivery of her child. The court found that "the plaintiff had a legal right to the privacy of her apartment"; this was the first legal decision outlining the expectations and rights of privacy in American culture. See Danielson, "Gender of Privacy," 311.

71. Frank, "Bedrooms as Battlefields," 36.

72. Feimster has argued that the terms *pillage* and *plunder* were used interchangeably during the war to describe both destruction of private property and rape ("'Beauty and Booty,'" 5).

73. In almost all of Volck's depictions of home invasions and searches as part of his etching portfolios, *Sketches from the Civil War in North America* (1863) and *V. Blada's War Sketches* (1864), women wear either ripped clothing or nightdresses, emphasizing their sexual vulnerability during wartime. See "Searching for Arms," "Jennison's Jayhawkers," and "Valiant Men dat 'fite mit Sigel.'" On Volck's pro-southern imagery, see Voss, "Adalbert Volck."

74. Gordon, "Women's Domestic Body," 281.

75. Charles Morris to His Wife, March 14, 1865, Section 1, Charles Morris Papers, VHS; E. Susan Barber and Charles F. Ritter, "'Physical Abuse . . . and Rough Handling': Race, Gender, and Sexual Justice in the Occupied South," in *Occupied Women*, ed. Whites and Long, 49–66.

76. "Hunter's Conduct near Sweet Springs," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 4, 1864, 1.

77. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 23.

78. "Yankee Atrocities," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 22, 1864, 1.

79. "The Enemy's Outrages in Milledgeville," *Atlanta Constitutionalist*, November 29, 1864, in *Richmond Enquirer*, December 7, 1864, 1.

80. Anna Maria Green Cook Diary, November 25, 1864, 93–96, Box 25, Green Cook Family Papers, University of Georgia, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Cook may also have tried to erase Nichols's name because the story turned out to have been fabricated. Rumors and fictitious accounts of rape during the Civil War were common and make it difficult to determine rape statistics with any certainty. See Morton McInvale, "A Retreat from Tragedy," in *North Georgia Journal*, ed. Olin Jackson, 2:351–52, 360. I thank Bob Davis for calling my attention to this source.

81. "Yankee Atrocities," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 22, 1864, 1.

82. Barber and Ritter, "'Physical Abuse . . . and Rough Handling,'" 51.

83. "From Caroline County," *Richmond Enquirer*, July 31, 1862, 1.

84. On the pleasurable psychological and physiological responses to destruction, see de Quervian et al., "Neural Basis"; Knutson, "Sweet Revenge?"

85. Herman, *Town House*, 201, 262.

86. "Vandalism," *Richmond Enquirer*, May 21, 1864, 1.

87. Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos*, 459–60.

88. Horace Hooker to His Wife from Pocahontas, July 21, 1863, Box 6a, Folder 82, Horace B. Hooker Civil War Letters, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, New York. I thank Jim Davis for bringing this letter to my attention. As Campbell has argued, "Forcing Southern women to play [piano] for them was a favorite pastime of soldiers" (*When Sherman Marched*, 88).

89. "The Enemy's Outrages in Milledgeville," *Atlanta Constitutionalist*, November 29, 1864, in *Richmond Enquirer*, December 7, 1864, 1.

90. "Sickles' Drunken Brigade" [Letter from a Resident of Fredericksburg, April 5, 1862], *Richmond Enquirer*, April 10, 1862, 1.

91. William Sabin to [Benjamin] Gladding from St. Simons Island, June 14, 1863, William A. Sabin Civil War Letters, Benjamin Gladding Letters, Box 3, Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection 9001-G, RIHS.

92. Augustine Smythe to Jane Smythe from Camp Stono, October 12, 1862, Folder 11, Adger-Smyth[e]-Flynn Family Papers, SCL.

93. Campbell, *When Sherman Marched*, 89.

94. Sophie Sosnowski, "Burning of Columbia: A Thrilling, Faithful Description of a National Passion," 22–23, Folder 2, Papers of the Sosnowski and Schaller Families, SCL.

95. B. P. Lewis to Mrs. D, September 10, 1864, in Emma Mordecai Diary, 109–10, VHS.

96. "Vandalism of the Enemy," *Richmond Enquirer*, May 16, 1864, 2.

97. *Richmond Enquirer*, September 6, 1862, 2.

98. B. P. Lewis to Mrs. D, September 10, 1864, in Mordecai Diary, 112.

99. Richards and Solove, "Privacy's Other Path," 141, 142.

100. "From Culpeper," *Lynchburg Republican*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, August 2, 1862, 1; "Yankee Outrages in East Tennessee," *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 15, 1862, in *Richmond Enquirer*, July 17, 1862, 1.

101. Charles Morris to His Wife, June 15, 1863, Morris Papers.

102. Simms, *Sack and Destruction*, 74; Trezevant, *Burning of Columbia, S.C.*, 8.

103. George Michael Neese Diary, October 6–18, 1864, in Neese, *Three Years*, 318.

104. Conrad, *Destruction of Columbia, S.C.*, 27.

105. "American Barbarism," *Times* of London, in *Richmond Enquirer*, December 2, 1864, 1.

106. Margaret Brown Wight Diary, July 5, 1863, VHS.

107. "The Trail of Sheridan," *Richmond Enquirer*, July 5, 1864, 2.

108. Judith McGuire Diary, May 1861, in McGuire, *Diary*, 21.

109. Leander Cram Diary, November 28, 1861, Maine Historical Society.

110. Edward Tobey Barker to His Mother, February 10, 23, 1862, Edward Tobey Barker Letters, Box 4, Barker-Edes-Noyes Family Papers.

111. See also Robert Knox Sneden, "Negro Cabin, Virginia, 1862," in Sneden Diary, 4:12. This image also appears in the third volume of Sneden's diary, where it is captioned, "A Virginia Loghouse."

112. Upton, "White and Black Landscapes"; Vlach, *Back of the Big House*; Herman, *Town House*.

113. Arthur W. Hyatt Diary, September 29, 1863, Arthur W. Hyatt Papers, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. I thank Colin Woodward for this quotation.

114. "The Destruction of Lower Brandon," *Petersburg Register*, January 28, 1864, in *Richmond Enquirer*, January 29, 1864, 1.

115. Edward Tobey Barker to His Mother from Stono Inlet, May 31, 1862, Edward Tobey Barker Letters, Box 4, Barker-Edes-Noyes Family Papers.

116. Atkins, *With Sherman's Cavalry*, 8; "Cabins, near Carpenter's House, Used as Hospitals" n.d., General Box 277, Stereographs Collection, AAS; Josiah C. Fuller to His Wife from Falmouth, Va., November 23, 1862, Josiah C. Fuller Papers, MHS.

117. Wesley T. Harris Diary, April 5, 1862, Book 1, Harris Diaries, Item 1281, Folder 1, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S. Civil War Commandery of the State of Massachusetts Collection, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.

118. Watson C. Hitchcock to His Parents from Stafford Court House, February 5, 1863, Box 1, Hitchcock Papers.

119. Creed Thomas Davis Diary, January 13, 1865, 130, VHS.

120. *Richmond Examiner*, November 11, 1863, 2. I thank Jim Davis for this quotation.

121. Theodorick Montfort Diary, March 12, 1862, in Montfort, *Rebel Lawyer*, 60. I thank Colin Woodward for this quotation.

122. Mooney, "Looking for History's Huts," 43.

123. Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 153; Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 114, 137.

124. Maria Linsey Dobyns Roane Garnett Letter, June 17, 1864.

125. "We Are Informed by J. M. Forbes, Esq.," *Richmond Enquirer*, September 6, 1862, 2.

126. Dolly Lunt Burge Diary, November 19, 1864, in Gienapp, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 259.

127. Some northern soldiers admitted to these violations of slaves' privacy and property, although those who did usually described the actions of others with disapproval. Union captain George Pepper was disgusted that Sherman's "bummers" would "go through a Negro cabin . . . with just as much freedom and vivacity as they 'loot' the dwelling of a wealthy planter," while Union colonel Oscar Lawrence Jackson castigated "degraded" soldiers who "plunder the houses of the blacks." George W. Pepper quoted in Campbell, *When Sherman Marched*, 45; Oscar Lawrence Jackson, *Colonel's Diary*, 193–94.

128. Sosnowski, "Burning of Columbia," 4–5, 17.

129. Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 63, 70.

130. Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 15.

131. Schweninger, *Black Property Owners*, 30, 33; Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 95, 96; Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 166–67.

132. Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 61; Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 101.

133. Bryce, *Personal Experiences*, 30; Whilden, *Recollections*, 10.

134. Heddie Davis quoted in Campbell, *When Sherman Marched*, 48.

135. Fannie Dunn quoted in ibid., 86.

136. Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 5, 116, 138.

137. Wilder Dwight to His Mother, 1862, Box "1862: Jan. to August," Dwight Family Papers.

138. Avary, *Dixie after the War*, 341.

139. Bundy, *Autobiography*, 73.

140. That many slaves left and most did not file claims to compensate them for the loss of their cabins should not suggest they did not value these structures. The Southern Claims Commission would not allow claims for items that soldiers could not carry off, which most freed slaves assumed meant buildings and land (although A. W. Warren and those soldiers who did remove slave cabins from their original sites might have disagreed). See Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 138.

141. Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom*, 261–62; Schweninger, *Black Property Owners*, 144–45.

142. Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 145, 148–49.

143. Mooney, "Comfortable Tasty Framed Cottage," 48, 53.

144. Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 306–7; Avary, *Dixie after the War*, 160.

145. Carrie Berry Diary, November 17, 18, 20, 25, 28, 29, 1864, Carrie Berry Papers, Atlanta History Center, Kenan Research Center.

146. To fund his home construction and rebuild his life, Parrott filed a claim with the U.S. government; he wanted $50,000 for cotton that Sherman's men had confiscated from his Atlanta warehouses and was pondering filing other claims for the damage to his mother's house. It is unclear whether Parrott ever submitted these claims; his name does not appear the Southern Claims Commission's lists anywhere in the state of Georgia or in any separate congressional records. See J. E. Parrott to John Davidson from Atlanta, August 30, 1865, John and Julia Davidson Civil War Letters, Folder 15, Box 2, Davidson Family Correspondence and Civil War Records, Atlanta History Center, Kenan Research Center; List of Claims No. 55: Georgia, in *Records of the Commissioners.*

147. "Journal of Ten Days Travel," VHS.

148. John Armistead Selden Diary, May 5–6, September 17–18, 1862, 202, 214–15, Selden Family Papers, VHS. Homeowners who sold after the war took even larger losses. One house and farm along the James River that had been valued at $65,000 in 1860 was sold for $2,000 in 1875. See "Journal of Ten Days Travel."

149. Paskoff, "Measures of War," 48, 52, 58; Neely, *Civil War*, 119, 199.

150. Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, 87.

151. "Old Virginia," *Montgomery Mail*, in the *Richmond Enquirer*, July 22, 1864.

152. "A Singed Cat," *Richmond Enquirer*, October 21, 1864.

153. Margaret Crawford Adams in the *South Carolina Women*, ed. State Committee, Daughters of the Confederacy, 225. The "ruins of once happy homes" is a common trope in southern women's memoirs and accounts of their wartime experiences. See also Beers, *Memories*, 197–98. I thank Brian Craig Miller for introducing me to both of these sources.

154. Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*, 78.

155. Peck, *M'Donalds*, 7.

156. Ibid., 189–90.

157. Ibid., 192.

Chapter Three. Battle Logs

1. Trowbridge, *The South*, 214.

2. Tucker and Russell use this term to describe shattered forests left in the wake of battles (*Natural Enemy, Natural Ally*, 4).

3. As Ellen Stroud has argued, "Forests are captivating for many of the same reasons they are so difficult to preserve. . . . [T]he meaning of a forest, its value, its importance, the histories it can tell us, the stories it can hold, the timber or habitat or play space a forest offers, is never clear" ("Who Cares about Forests?," in *Companion*, ed. Sackman, 412).

4. Brady, "War upon the Land," 14, 45.

5. Charles August Henninghausen Diary, April 24, 1862, VHS.

6. Silver, *New Face*, 14–15, 16, 25.

7. Ibid., 105–7; Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 58, 60–61.

8. For a visual representation of the challenges of South Carolina's forested wetlands for Union soldiers, see Theodore R. Davis, "Sherman's March through South Carolina – Road at the Swamp Crossing," *Harper's Weekly*, March 4, 1865, 129.

9. Brady, "War upon the Land," 178; Hess, *Trench Warfare*, 11, 16; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 6.

10. Hoffman, *"My Brave Mechanics,"* 149.

11. General William Tecumseh Sherman, Field Orders No. 120, Section 8, November 1864, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 146.

12. Thomas Osborn Diary, February 1, 1865, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 186 n.66.

13. "Bay State" to the Editor, April 10, 1864, *New York Weekly Anglo-African*, April 30, 1864, in Gienapp, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 228.

14. Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 7.

15. Captain James L. Corley [for Robert Garnett] to Colonel Scott, July 11, 1861, from Laurel Hill, in *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 2, chap. 9, p. 281.

16. William H. Locke to His Wife, June 18, 1864, William H. Locke Letters, Rachel Dunlap Collection, UVA.

17. On March 13, 1864, General P. G. T. Beauregard ordered Major General Patton Anderson to telegraph Central Florida's Confederate civilians to "cut down trees into the River Ocklawaha, both above and below the expedition, using their negroes if necessary" (Henry Bryan to Patton Anderson, March 13, 1864, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 35, chap. 47, pt. 2, p. 354).

18. Report of Colonel Thomas Jones, May 14, 1862, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 6, chap. 16, p. 662.

19. J. H. Wilson to Joseph G. Totten, April 9, 1863, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 51.

20. Daniel Oakey, "Marching through Georgia and the Carolinas," quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 177.

21. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 83–90.

22. William Pritchard Diary, February 20, 1865, quoted in Updike, "'Very Devil,'" 21.

23. Fox, *Record*, 67.

24. Wilder Dwight to His Mother, April 29, 1862, Box "1862: January to August," Dwight Family Papers, MHS.

25. Coffin, *Four Years of Fighting*, 331–32.

26. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 163.

27. Ibid., 165.

28. Cook, *Siege of Richmond*, 274.

29. Charles S. McClenthen Diary, November 18, 1862, in McClenthen, *Narrative*, 27–28.

30. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, November 26, 1862, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers, MHS.

31. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 113–14.

32. Oscar Bailey to His Father, March 27, 1863, Oscar Bailey Civil War Letters, Bailey Family Letters, MHS; Cook, *Siege of Richmond*, 274.

33. In January 1865, William T. Sherman wrote to U. S. Grant from South Carolina that "terrific Rains . . . caught me in motion, and . . . swept away our Causeway which had been carefully corduroyed" (Sherman to Grant, January 29, 1865, from Pocotaligo, South Carolina, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 167).

34. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, November 17, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

35. Clark, *Railroads in the Civil War*, 12.

36. Most engines of the time ran on steam, and wood fires fed their boilers. According to Ouchley, "Most locomotives used wood instead of coal until after the war. In 1859 about 3,600 out of 4,000 locomotives in the United States were wood fired." Starr estimates that one engine burned almost two cords of wood (with each cord measuring four feet by four feet by eight feet) per twenty-five miles. See Ouchley, *Flora and Fauna*, 6, 193; Fishlow, *American Railroads*, 125–29; Starr, "American Forests," 214; Kirby, "American Civil War."

37. John West Haley Diary, July 22–24, 1864, VHS.

38. Oscar Bailey to His Father, March 27, 1863, Oscar Bailey Civil War Letters, Bailey Family Letters.

39. See, for example, George H. Troup Diary, 1862, Troup Family Papers, MHS; Matthew Wood Allen Diary, VHS; Edward Samuel Duffey Diary, VHS; William S. Hotchkin Diaries, UVA; John Mottram Diary, UVA.

40. Henry Klag Diary, November 28, 1861, VHS.

41. Creed Thomas Davis Diary, December 10, 1864, 116, VHS.

42. Sherman, *Memoirs*, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 178.

43. Henry Hitchcock to Mary C. Hitchcock, October 31, 1864, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 178.

44. Silver, *New Face*, 133–34; Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 77.

45. Edward Garlick Gwathmey Autobiography (1928), 11–12, Gwathmey Family Papers, VHS.

46. Creed Thomas Davis Diary, November 7, 1864, 101.

47. Matthew Wood Allen Diary, November 6, 1863, April 23, 1864.

48. Creed Thomas Davis Diary, December 31, 1864, January 1, 1865, 116, 123.

49. Albert Gallatin Browne, Receipts dated July 31, 1864 ("wood splitting and piling $3"), September 30, 1864 ("bought wood $3"), and October 31, 1864 ("wood splitting piling &c. $4.60"), Folder 1, Box 3, Albert Gallatin Browne Papers, MHS.

50. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 30.

51. "Ned," "The Convalescent Camp," 1863, Broadsides Collection, AAS.

52. George Henry Caperton Diary, December 29, 1861, VHS.

53. See, for example, "18 Co. F. North Side Camp," Edward Everett Hale Scrapbook, Box 277, "Civil War General," Stereographs Collection, AAS; "Headquarters of General Butterfield, near Harrison's Landing, James River, Va.," *Frank Leslie's Scenes*, Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, AAS.

54. Charles Adams to Hannah Adams, February 8–9, 1863, Charles Follen Adams Papers, MHS.

55. Freedom Sanborn Diary, December 26, 1863, NHHS; Dean E. Nelson, "'Right Nice Little House[s]': Winter Camp Architecture of the American Civil War," in *Huts and History*, ed. Geier, Orr, and Reeves, 179–80, 183.

56. Wilder Dwight to His Mother, December 11, 1861, Box "1861," Dwight Family Papers.

57. Leander Cram Diary, February 25, 1864, Maine Historical Society, Portland.

58. Dean E. Nelson, "'Right Nice Little House[s],'" 184.

59. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 67, 74.

60. James A. Sawyer Civil War Journal, Winter 1864–65, quoted in Dean E. Nelson, "'Right Nice Little House[s],'" 180.

61. Clarence R. Geier, David G. Orr, and Matthew B. Reeves, "'I Am Now Very Comfortably Situated for Winter Having a Very Nice Chimney Attached to My Tent, and Everything That Tends to Make This Unhappy Life Pleasant and Agreeable,'" in *Huts and History*, ed. Geier, Orr, and Reeves, 15.

62. Frank C. Morse to His Mother and Sister, October 22, 1862, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

63. Forbes also depicts a range of camp architecture in *Fall in for the South: A Scene in Winter Camp, Giving a General Idea of the Style of Huts Built and Occupied by the Troops*, in *Life Studies of the Great Army: A Historical Work of Art, in Copper-Plate Etching, Containing Forty Plates, Illustrating the Life of the Union Armies during the Late Rebellion* (New York: Forbes, [1876]), plate 20, Map Room, AAS.

64. Archibald Pleasants to His Cousin, November 14, 1861, Archibald Pleasants Letters, Section 5, Price Family Papers, VHS.

65. Josiah Fuller to His Wife, December 13, 1863, Josiah C. Fuller Papers, MHS.

66. Eben Fiske to Emily Fiske, June 26, 1862, Eben W. Fiske Civil War Letters, Fiske Family Papers, MHS.

67. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, January 18, 1864, Box "1864," Frank C. Morse Papers.

68. Wilder Dwight to His Mother, December 11, 1861, Box "1861," Dwight Family Papers.

69. George H. Troup Diary, December 5, 1862, January 3, March 5, 22, 1863, Troup Family Papers.

70. Richard Cary to His Wife, November 16, 1861, Richard Cary Letters, MHS.

71. Dean E. Nelson, "'Right Nice Little House[s],'" 189.

72. William Henry Tatum to His Sister, January 1, 1863, William Henry Tatum Papers, VHS.

73. Samuel Heisler Pendleton Diary, November 26–December 9, 1861, UVA.

74. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, November 17, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

75. Sylvester Erwin Hadley War Diary, January 28, 30, 31, 1863, NHHS.

76. Alexander Gardner, "Residence Chief Quartermaster, Third Army Corps," in Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book*, vol. 2, plate 52 caption.

77. "Camp of Infantry," Regulations 515–16, in *Revised Regulations*, 76; Joseph W. A. Whitehouse, "Blueprint for Nineteenth-Century Camps: Castramentation, 1778–1865," in *Huts and History*, ed. Geier, Orr, and Reeves, 37.

78. Geier, Orr, and Reeves, "'I Am Now Very Comfortably Situated,'" 11.

79. Matthew Wood Allen Diary, December 16, 1863, January 7–9, 1864.

80. Forbes included a note in table of contents: "The structure on the left is an improvised stable built of pine boughs."

81. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, January 10–11, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

82. John West Haley Diary, February 27, 1865.

83. Trowbridge, *The South*, 213–14.

84. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, June 1, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

85. Ibid., December 27, 1863.

86. Ibid., January 18, 1864, Box "1864."

87. Joseph Banks Lyle Diary, January 3, 1865, VHS.

88. John West Haley Diary, February 1864.

89. Howard Dwight to His Mother, December 21, 1861, Box "1861," Dwight Family Papers.

90. Charles H. Ashton to His Mother, April 17, 1862, Charles H. Ashton Letters, VHS.

91. Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book*, vol. 2, plate 57 caption.

92. The scholarly literature on this topic is prodigious. For the most cogent arguments addressing the literature, art, and culture of America's pastoral landscapes, see Marx, *Machine in the Garden*; Novak, *Nature and Culture*; Angela Miller, *Empire of the Eye*; Campanella, *Republic of Shade.*

93. Angela Miller, *Empire of the Eye*, 13.

94. George Troup Diary, March 9, May 22, 23, 1863, Charles Troup Diary, March 9, May 22, 1863, both in Troup Family Papers.

95. Henry Klag Diary, June 16, 1862.

96. Jesse Tyler Sturm quoted in Whitehorne, "Blueprint for Nineteenth-Century Camps," 45.

97. Fox, *Record*, 47.

98. John West Haley Diary, April 2, 1863.

99. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, May 21–22, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

100. Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book*, vol. 2, plate 57 caption.

101. Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, May 21–22, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

102. John West Haley Diary, June 13, November 3, 1863.

103. Eri Davidson Woodbury Army Journal, February 27, 1865, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

104. Creed Thomas Davis Diary, September 3, 1864, 68–69.

105. Robert Coburn Diary, January 28, 1863, quoted in Updike, "'Very Devil,'" 29.

106. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 131.

107. John Denniston Marlin Daybook, January 3, 22, 1863, Section 5, Stratton-Marlin Family Papers, VHS.

108. See, for example, John Emery Morris to His Uncle John, October 24, 1862, February 15, June 1, 1863, Folders 1, 2, 4, John E. Morris Papers, CHS; Henry J. Anthony Diary, October 17, 1862, Box 10, Miscellaneous Manuscripts 9001-A, RIHS; Watson Hitchcock to His Mother from Loudoun Valley, December 7–8, 1862, Box 1, Watson C. Hitchcock Papers, Box 1, CHS; Francis Coe Diary, April 18, May 9, 1863, CHS; George H. P. Rowell to His Parents, January 29, 1863, George H. P. Rowell Civil War Letters, NHHS; Freedom Sanborn Diary, October 4, 1862, March 17, 1863, NHHS.

109. Wilber Fisk to His Hometown Newspaper, February 25, 1862, in Fisk, *Hard Marching Every Day*, 8; Frank C. Morse to Ellen Morse, December 22, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

110. Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book*, vol. 2, plate 77 caption.

111. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 4:71, VHS; John West Haley Diary, November 21, 1862.

112. "Timber Wanted," *Richmond Enquirer*, May 1, 1862, 1; "Wood for Camp Winder," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 10, 1862, 1; "Contracts for Wood," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 19, 1864, 2; "Fuel," *Wilmington Journal*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, September 17, 1864, 2.

113. Trowbridge, *The South*, 198.

114. *Macon Telegraph*, September 12, 1863, quoted in Updike, "'Very Devil,'" 30.

115. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 123–28.

116. *Macon Telegraph*, October 30, 1863, quoted in Updike, "'Very Devil,'" 31.

117. Charles Morse to His Mother, October 20, 1862, Folder 5, Box 1, Charles F. Morse Papers, MHS.

118. Richard Cary to His Wife from Martinsburg, July 13, 1861, Cary Letters; L. Prescott Hubbard Jr. to Annie Baltzley from Camp Union, Bladensburg, Maryland, September 11, 1861, Letters from Union Soldiers to Anne E. Baltzley, Folder 3, Baltzley-Potter-Etz Family Papers, RIAS.

119. Andrews, *War-Time Journal*, 47–48.

120. There were some exceptions, of course. Only five days after he was made brigadier general in the Union Army, Daniel E. Sickles encamped his troops on land owned by a Mr. Corcoran outside of Washington, D.C. Sickles, who had a grudge against Corcoran, used the opportunity to direct his men to "[injure] the beautiful trees & [ruin] the place for the season at least." Richard Cary to His Wife, September 7, 1861, Cary Letters.

121. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 4:765; "Captain Muller's Battery Company of the Seventy-Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment Making Fascines and Gabions for Breastworks," *Frank Leslie's Scenes*, Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, AAS.

122. Margaret Brown Wight Diary, May 25, 1864, VHS.

123. Paul Turner Vaughan Diary, October 2, 1863, UVA.

124. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 1:676.

125. Horace Morse to His Mother and Sister, June 18, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

126. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 1:677.

127. Cook, *Siege of Richmond*, 185.

128. Francis Smith to Anna Dandridge Smith, June 24, 1864, Folder 2, Section 2, Smith Family Papers, VHS.

129. Horace Morse to His Sister, June 12, 1863, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers.

130. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 199.

131. Richard Cary to His Wife, August 29, 1861, Cary Letters.

132. William Harris Clayton to His Mother, June 12, 1862, Section 2, Clayton Family Papers, VHS.

133. William Dwight Jr. to His Mother, May 3, 1862, Box "1862: January to August," Dwight Family Papers.

134. William Hillyer, untitled and undated poem and miscellaneous note, William Silliman Hillyer Papers, UVA.

135. William Henry Tatum to Louisa, April 21, 1862, Tatum Papers.

136. Eri Davidson Woodbury Army Journal, May 5, 1864.

137. Charles Morse to His Mother from Strasburg, March 28, 1862, Folder 3, Box 1, Charles F. Morse Papers.

138. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 275.

139. George Wright to His Mother, July 24, 1862, Oscar Bailey Civil War Letters, Bailey Family Letters.

140. Cook, *Siege of Richmond*, 249.

141. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 200.

142. Theodore Allen Diary, January 12, 1865, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 190.

143. Manning F. Force, *Personal Recollections of the Vicksburg Campaign*, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 97.

144. Wilder Dwight to His Mother, March 25, 1862, Box "1862: January to August," Dwight Family Papers.

145. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 3:166.

146. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 293.

147. Quoted in Shelby Foote, *Civil War*, 2:300; Napoleon B. Perkins, "Memoirs of N. B. Perkins," NHHS.

148. Cook, *Siege of Richmond*, 226.

149. Starr, "American Forests," 215.

150. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 78.

151. I have come to this rough estimate of 2,000,000 trees by calculating daily camp usage (the heaviest toll on southern forests), extrapolating this number for every war county in the South, and adding a conservative assessment of the number of trees used to build transportation infrastructure over four years of war. I arrived at the figure of 25,000 "ghost" trees by multiplying the number of major battles (around 250) in the war with a conservative estimate of 100 injured trees per battle.

152. Emma Mordecai Diary, May 13, June 30, 1864, 15, 56–57, VHS.

153. Trowbridge, *The South*, 24, 85, 225.

154. "A Trip of the Valley," April 26, 1864, *Richmond Enquirer*, May 5, 1864, 2. This report was written before David Hunter or Phil Sheridan began their Shenandoah campaigns.

155. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, April 12, 1865, Grace Brown Elmore Reminiscences, 80, SCL.

156. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 28.

157. "The Field of Operations in Georgia," *Richmond Enquirer*, July 7, 1864, 1.

158. Williams, *Americans and Their Forests*, 28.

159. See Megan Kate Nelson, *Trembling Earth*, 95–115.

160. Cotton and Hills, *Catalogue*, 24, 28–29, 35.

161. Douglas Davies, "The Evocative Symbolism of Trees," in *Iconography of Landscape*, ed. Cosgrove and Daniels, 34; Lyons, "Wounded Trees," 5; Stroud, "Who Cares about Forests?," 412.

162. Campanella, *Republic of Shade*, 6, 32, 34, 45.

163. "American Historical Trees," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1862, 721–22.

164. Andrew Jackson Downing, *Rural Essays*, quoted in Campanella, *Republic of Shade*, 47.

165. "American Historical Trees," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1862, 722.

166. Lyons, "Wounded Trees," 2.

167. Black, "On the Copse at Gettysburg," 308.

168. Ulysses S. Grant, *Memoirs*, quoted in Brady, "War upon the Land," 97 n.102, 110.

169. Campanella, *Republic of Shade*, 55.

170. Charles B. Haydon Journal, December 25, 1861, in Haydon, *For Country, Cause, and Leader*, 157.

171. Bust of Lincoln and Gettysburg Battle Log, 1906, Collection of the Civil War Museum of Philadelphia.

172. Abraham Lincoln, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions," January 27, 1837, Speech to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, in Abraham Lincoln, *Abraham Lincoln*, 1:49–50. I thank Nora Titone for this quotation.

Chapter Four. Empty Sleeves and Government Legs

1. Napoleon B. Perkins, "Memoirs of N. B. Perkins," NHHS.

2. Ibid.; Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Human Wheel," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1863, 568.

3. Napoleon B. Perkins, "Memoirs of N. B. Perkins."

4. Scarry, *Body in Pain*, 61, 80–81.

5. Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 14, 17.

6. Leander Cram Diary, April 23, 1864, Maine Historical Society, Portland.

7. Wilder Dwight to His Mother, March 25, 1862, Dwight Family Papers, Box "1862: Jan. to August," MHS.

8. Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 95; Figg and Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War," 454–55; Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 1; Coco, *Strange and Blighted Land*, 164. Minié balls were named after their French inventor, C. E. Minié.

9. Henry Janes to the Editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, October 27, 1899, quoted in Coco, *Strange and Blighted Land*, 164.

10. Joseph Edward Beatty Recollections [of Bull Run], 1862, Section 2, Trapnell Papers, VHS. Some of these bullets, attached to other articles of clothing or a soldier's kit, became museum curiosities in the years after the war. The Army Medical Museum in Washington, D.C., had a cabinet displaying these "curious specimens," including "quite a number of examples of bullets, round and conical, having hit the tin buttons on soldiers' coats and carried them into the body, both objects forming one compact mass. In some cases the bullet has pierced the button exactly in the centre; in others it is flattened on the button" (Bagger, "Army Medical Museum," 297).

11. "Lawlessness and Inhumanity of the Enemy" [editorial], *Richmond Enquirer*, June 4, 1862, 1.

12. "From North Georgia," *Atlanta Appeal*, May 29, 1864, in *Richmond Enquirer*, June 8, 1864, 1.

13. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 41. Coco has argued that bullets caused five times as many wounds as artillery shot and shells, a more conservative estimate than Faust's (*Strange and Blighted Land*, 164).

14. Samuel Cabot Jr. to Hannah Cabot, May 3, 1862, Samuel Cabot Jr. Civil War Letters, Folder 26, Carton 1, Almy Family Papers, RIAS.

15. Paul Turner Vaughan Diary, April 28, 1863, UVA.

16. Newton T. Hartshorn to Annie Baltzley, April 23, 1862, Letters from Union Soldiers to Anne E. Baltzley, Folder 4, Baltzley-Potter-Etz Family Papers, RIAS.

17. Greely S. Curtis to Aunt Fanny, May 20, 1863, Greely S. Curtis Civil War Letters, Folder 39, Carton 1, Curtis Family Papers, RIAS.

18. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 150.

19. David Henry Fay Pocket Diary, May 4, 1862, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

20. William A. Sabin to Benjamin Gladding, September 8, 1863, William A. Sabin Civil War Letters, Benjamin Gladding Letters, Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection 9001-G, Box 3, RIHS.

21. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xii. Faust argues in opposition to several other cultural historians of warfare. Nudelman has argued that high mortality rates and a photographic genre that took corpses as subjects resulted in a populace that was "not likely to be shocked by the sight of corpses" during the Civil War; Schantz agrees, arguing that Americans' familiarity with large-scale epidemics and familial responsibilities for the dead in addition to established traditions of post-mortem photography made Civil War Americans more inured to the immense scale of death during wartime. See Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, 104; Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country*, 9, 182.

22. In the field of disability studies, scholars have highlighted the ways that cultural forces "produced" the image of normative bodies in nineteenth-century America and the ways that the disabled body was thus categorized as "other" in comparison. See Garland-Thomson, "Disability and Representation"; Davis, *Disability Studies Reader*; Snyder, Brueggemann, and Garland-Thomson, *Disability Studies*.

23. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 3:895, VHS.

24. Cyrus F. Boyd Diary, April 7, 1862, in Gienapp, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 91.

25. In her study of images of soldiers' bodies during World War II, Jarvis discovered that in many of the journalistic and governmental images of the American wounded and dead, the bodies are "clean, decently clothed, and notably intact. Rather than presenting challenges to the newly strengthened wartime body politic, many of the images of the wounded actually reinforced it" (*Male Body at War*, 97).

26. See, for example, Charles Grobe's "The Battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing," 1862, and "The Battle of Fort Donelson," 1862, Sheet Music Collection, AAS.

27. "A Broadway Valhalla; Opening of Brady's New Gallery," *New York Times*, October 6, 1860; "Brady's Photographs of the War," *New York Times*, September 26, 1862.

28. "Brady's Gallery," *Harper's Weekly*, November 14, 1863, 722.

29. Herron, "Facing Death," 115; Samuels, *Facing America*, 60, 70.

30. "Brady's Photographs: Pictures of the Dead at Antietam," *New York Times*, October 20, 1862.

31. Sekula, "Body and the Archive," 11; Root, *Camera and the Pencil*, 85.

32. Root, *Camera and the Pencil*, 89.

33. "Brady's Photographs: Pictures of the Dead at Antietam," *New York Times*, October 20, 1862.

34. Greely Curtis to Aunt Fanny, June 24, 1863, Greely S. Curtis Civil War Letters, Folder 39, Carton 1, Curtis Family Papers.

35. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 4:467.

36. Edward Samuel Duffey Diary, August 31, 1862, VHS.

37. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xvi.

38. See especially Whites, *Civil War*; Berry, *All That Makes a Man*; Wyatt-Brown, *Shaping of Southern Culture*; Fahs, *Imagined Civil War*; Brian Craig Miller, *John Bell Hood*; DeGruccio, "Unmade"; Clarke, *War Stories*, 41, 151, 164. General histories on American manhood also include short sections on the Civil War as a pivotal moment in the evolution of nineteenth-century gender roles. See Rotundo, *American Manhood*; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*.

39. Berry, *All That Makes a Man*, 171, 176–77; Fahs, *Imagined Civil War*, 93–94; J. Matthew Gallman, "In Your Hands That Musket Means Liberty: African American Soldiers and the Battle of Olustee," in *Wars within a War*, ed. Waugh and Gallagher, 92, 97.

40. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 4:467.

41. Wilber Fisk Letter, June 5, 1863, quoted in Coco, *Strange and Blighted Land*, 33.

42. S. Weir Mitchell quoted in Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 19.

43. Robert Knox Sneden Diary, 3:894.

44. Marks, *Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 179–80.

45. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 88.

46. Therese M. Rizzo, "The Sentimental Slave Body in Frederick Douglass's 'The Heroic Slave,'" in *America and the Black Body*, ed. Henderson, 138, 145.

47. Carol E. Henderson, "Introduction: Bordering on the Black Body: Text and Subtext in America's Literature and Culture," in *America and the Black Body*, ed. Henderson, 15.

48. Gilmore, *Genuine Article*, 127, 140, 142.

49. Sekula, "Body and the Archive," 5, 6–7, 12, 13–14.

50. Gilmore, *Genuine Article*, 143.

51. "A Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*, July 4, 1863, 429.

52. Fahs, *Imagined Civil War*, 169; Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, 151–52.

53. Eri Davidson Woodbury Army Journal, April 8, 1865, vol. 2, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

54. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 574.

55. Grace Brown Elmore Diary, September 8, 1864, Grace Brown Elmore Reminiscences, 19, SCL.

56. Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 96–97, 232; John David Smith, foreword to Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, ix; Figg and Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the

Civil War," 457. Medical statistics point to between 23,762 and 29,980 cases of amputation on the Union side; Herschbach suggests that Union surgeons performed roughly 10,000 more amputations during the early years of the war when record keeping was not uniform or complete and in field hospitals or rural areas where paper, pencil, and time for noting numbers were hard to come by. Figg and Farrell-Beck argue that 45,000 soldier-patients nationwide survived the procedures. Southern philanthropists recorded around 10,000 living Confederate amputees in January 1864. If this number is relatively close, the mortality rate for southern soldiers undergoing amputation was probably somewhat higher than 25 percent. C. K. Marshall, Letter to the Editor, *Richmond Enquirer*, January 14, 1864, 2.

57. Berger and Bacon, "Historical Notes," 26; Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 4, 6; Figg and Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War," 457; Kirk, "Development of Amputation," 132–33.

58. James Herbert George to Folks at Home, October 18, 1863, J. Herbert George Letters, Huntington Library.

59. Eri Davidson Woodbury Army Journal, June 28, 1864, vol. 2.

60. Charles Edward Bolton Diary, July 30, 1864, MHS.

61. Matilda (Tillie) Pierce Alleman quoted in Coco, *Strange and Blighted Land*, 185.

62. Ibid., 154; Rutkow, *Bleeding Blue and Gray*, 8.

63. George Hayward, S. D. Townshend, et al. to William A. Hammond, October 24, 1862, in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, November 13, 1862, 305.

64. Ibid.

65. Sarah Low to Mr. Hale, May 7, 1863, Sarah Low Civil War Correspondence, Folder 2, Sarah Low Papers, NHHS.

66. Hayward et al. to Hammond, October 24, 1862, in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, November 13, 1862, 305; Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 2, 4.

67. Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 2.

68. Ibid., 18.

69. Sarah Low to Her Mother, June 12–13, 1864, Sarah Low Civil War Correspondence, Folder 5, Low Papers.

70. James Barr to Rebecca Barr, June 14, 1864, Captain George W. Meetze to Rebecca Barr, July 8, 1864, both in Barr, *Let Us Meet in Heaven*, 242–43, 244, 253–54.

71. B. H. Smith to His Father, October 18, 1862, in *Richmond Enquirer*, October 23, 1862, 1.

72. Figg and Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War," 457; Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 2; Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 21, 96–97.

73. [George Washington Thomas], *The Empty Sleeve; or, Soldier's Appeal* (Boston: Smith, 1874), 4, 11, HMS. It is unclear if this "humble soldier" is meant to be Thomas himself; a note on the cover of the pamphlet authenticates Thomas's arm amputation and identifies his wound as suffered in the line of duty while working

as a machinist on the Union steamer *Demaly*, transporting troops from Gallop's Island to City Point, Virginia.

74. James Hyatt, "Will Ye Leave Us Here to Die," October 24, 1864, William H. Smith Diary No. 1, William M. Smith Papers, UVA.

75. Brian Craig Miller has argued that John Bell Hood exemplifies this determination to use the battlefield as a site to prove manly honor. In 1864, after enduring the amputation of his leg and arm, Hood strapped himself to his horse to command the Confederate Army of the Tennessee in the southeastern theater (*John Bell Hood*, 88).

76. "Carry Me a Little Farther," *Mobile Register*, in *Richmond Enquirer*, July 10, 1862, 1.

77. Elizabeth (Alsop) Wynne Diary, July 2, 1862, Sections 4 and 5, Wynne Family Papers, VHS.

78. John Owen Jr. to His Aunt from Point Lookout, May 6, 1864, Folder 2, John Owen Jr. Papers, MHS.

79. Palmer, *Palmer Arm and Leg*, 4.

80. Henry H. Meacham, *The Empty Sleeve; or, The Life and Hardships of Henry H. Meacham, in the Union Army, by Himself* (Springfield, Mass.: n.p., [1869]), 19–20, 24, HMS.

81. "The Empty Sleeve," copied by Elizabeth Dwight, July 2, 1864, Box "1864: January to December," Dwight Family Papers.

82. *Medical and Surgical History*, 54.

83. Ibid., 299.

84. Ibid., 219.

85. Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, 156.

86. Henry Bellows Letter, July 14, 1863, quoted in Coco, *Strange and Blighted Land*, 175.

87. George T. Stevens quoted in Coco, *Strange and Blighted Land*, 178; Clarke, *War Stories*, 61.

88. Emma Mordecai Diary, May 25, 1864, VHS.

89. Washington Davis, "To Amputate, or Not to Amputate?" quoted in Figg and Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War," 456–57.

90. Richard Cary to Helen Cary, August 27, 1861, Richard Cary Letters, MHS.

91. George H. Gay, "Report to the Surgeon General on Military Surgery," October 1862, *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, November 13, 1862, 299.

92. Brian Craig Miller, *John Bell Hood*, 92.

93. "The Friends of Col. J. C. Gibson," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 10, 1864, 1.

94. Napoleon B. Perkins, "Memoirs of N. B. Perkins"; Eri Davidson Woodbury Army Journal, April 8, 1865; Sylvester Erwin Hadley War Diary, July 14, 1863, NHHS.

95. Theodorick Montfort Letter, February 1862, quoted in Berry, *All That Makes a Man*, 223.

96. Napoleon B. Perkins, "Memoirs of N. B. Perkins."

97. Ibid.

98. Walt Whitman, "The Wound Dresser," 1865, in Whitman, *Whitman*, 444.

99. Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 182.

100. Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*, 113, 73; Clarke, *War Stories*, 72, 152–53.

101. Kate Cumming Diary, October 18, 1863, in Cumming, *Journal*, 105.

102. Reid, *After the War*, 138; Wyatt-Brown, *Shaping of Southern Culture*, 250.

103. Fletcher, *Rebel Private*, 102–3. I thank Brian Craig Miller for bringing this source to my attention.

104. "A Soldier's Letter and a Woman's Answer" (from Blackstone, Mass.), April 1862, in William Hillyer Scrapbook, William Silliman Hillyer Papers, UVA.

105. Berry, *All That Makes a Man*, 13, 46, 80, 85, 94, 182–83, 191–92, 224.

106. Jefferson Davis, speech at Macon, Ga., September 23, 1864, quoted in Brian Craig Miller, *John Bell Hood*, 96.

107. J. L. Underwood quoted in Brian Craig Miller, "The Women who Loved (or Tried to Love) Confederate Amputees," in *Weirding the War*, ed. Berry, 389.

108. *Address of the Hon. W. D. Kelley, Miss Anna E. Dickinson, and Mr. Frederick Douglass, at a Mass Meeting, Held at National Hall, Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, for the Promotion of Colored Enlistments*, quoted in Gallman, "In Your Hands," 98.

109. "Conway," in *Soldiers' and Sailors' Half-Dime Tales*, 72–73.

110. For an extended discussion of Confederate women's discomfort with the newfound freedoms of wartime, see Faust, *Mothers of Invention.*

111. "The Empty Sleeve at Newport; or, Why Edna Ackland Learned to Drive," *Harper's Weekly*, August 26, 1865, 534.

112. Koven, "Remembering and Dismemberment," 1169; Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War," in *No Man's Land*, ed. Gilbert and Gubar, 258–323.

113. Emma Shannon Crutcher to Will Crutcher, January 22, 1862, quoted in Brian Craig Miller, *John Bell Hood*, 95–96.

114. Kate Cumming Diary, October 18, 1863, in Cumming, *Journal*, 105; Brian Craig Miller, "Women Who Loved," 391–93.

115. Emma Mordecai Diary, May 18, 1864, 22.

116. Anna Lowell to Sarah Low, June 1863, Sarah Low Civil War Correspondence, Folder 2, Low Papers.

117. Testimony of Captain Eden H. Fisher, August 5, 1868, in Douglass, *Douglass Patent Artificial Limbs* (1868), 10th ed., 10, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS.

118. Sarah Low to "M," November 3, 1863, Sarah Low Civil War Correspondence, Folder 3, Low Papers.

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120. Lieutenant John C. Hilton to George Jewett, July 22, 1864, in Jewett, *Salem Leg*, Circular No. 5, 13, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS.

121. Mary C. Berry Papers, quoted in Brian Craig Miller, "Women Who Loved," 400.

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123. Wyatt-Brown, *Shaping of Southern Culture*, 252.

124. Drake, *Drake's Patent Artificial Legs*, 9–10.

125. "Left-Handed Penmanship Contest" advertisements, correspondence, and photograph collection, 1866, William Oland Bourne Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York; Clarke, *War Stories*, 144, 146, 156, 167.

126. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 568.

127. Bly, *New and Important Invention*, 19–20, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS.

128. Tanner, *"Our Limbs Are Lost!"*, 1.

129. One Pennsylvania veteran and amputee (whose leg was mangled in a railroad accident and then amputated in 1874, not in the war) was advised by a friend, George Reed, that "there was one of two things a good American will do when he is busted; he will either write a book or take up a collection." Charles L. Cummings, *The Great War Relic, Valuable as a Curiosity of the Rebellion, Together with a Sketch of My Life, Service in the Army, and How I Lost My Feet since the War; Also, Many Interesting Incidents Illustrative of the Life of a Soldier* (n.p.: Cummings, ca. 1890), 9, HMS. On mendicant literature traditions in America, see Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*; Leon Jackson, *Business of Letters*.

130. Connor and Rhode, "Shooting Soldiers."

131. James R. Thomas, "When I Left My Good Home," 1862, HMS.

132. Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 4.

133. George W. Murray, *A History of George W. Murray, and His Long Confinement at Andersonville, Ga., Also the Starvation and Death of His Three Brothers, at the Same Place, by Himself* (Springfield, Mass.: n.p., 1865), 28–29, HMS.

134. [George Washington Thomas], *Empty Sleeve*, 12–13.

135. This image was reprinted in *Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the War of 1861*, 12:179, and *The Soldier in Our Civil War, Abridged Edition: Famous War Pictures Demonstrating the Valor of the Soldier as Displayed on the Battlefield: Sketched on the Spot by Famous War Artists* (New York: Stanley-Bradley, 1893), 82, both in Illustrated Periodicals, Pictorial Collection, AAS.

136. James Smith to Whom It May Concern, May 29, 1865, Michael Gormley Papers, Box 4, Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection 9001-G, RIHS.

137. James R. Thomas, "When I Left My Good Home."

138. "VetGuide Appendix D: A Brief History of Veterans Preference," http://www.opm.gov/veterans/html/vghist.asp (accessed June 15, 2010).

139. Meacham, *Empty Sleeve*, 2, 23.

140. Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, 106–7, 110–11; Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 97.

141. Eri Davidson Woodbury Army Journal, March 4, 1866, January 8, 1907, October 22, 1912, May 18, 1923, August 4, 1926.

142. McDaid, "With Lame Legs," 17.

143. Ibid., 20.

144. Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, 139–40; Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 97.

145. Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, 149.

146. James Marten, "Not a Veteran in the Poorhouse: Civil War Pensions and Soldiers' Homes," in *Wars within a War*, ed. Waugh and Gallagher, 211, 214. See also McClintock, "Civil War Pensions"; Logue, "Union Veterans and Their Government."

147. Hudson, *Artificial Limbs*, 1.

148. Connor and Rhode, "Shooting Soldiers"; Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 226–27. For a discussion of this project and the Army Medical Museum, see the conclusion.

149. Jewett, *Salem Leg*, Circular No. 7, 32, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS; Palmer, *Palmer Arm and Leg*, 6, 7, 8, 12; Marvin Lincoln, *Lincoln's Patent Artificial Arm*, 6, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS; Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 100; Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 20.

150. Hudson, *Mechanical Surgery*, 39–40, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS.

151. C. K. Marshall to the Editors, *Richmond Enquirer*, January 14, 1864, 2; Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 20.

152. Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 20, 25, 27, 33.

153. Ibid., 33–34.

154. *Boston Evening Gazette* quoted in Drake, *Drake's Patent Artificial Legs*, 45; C. K. Marshall to the Editors, *Richmond Enquirer*, January 14, 1864, 2. The quotation is from Isaiah 35:6 and refers to what is promised when Christ returns to establish his kingdom in the world.

155. Marvin Lincoln, *Lincoln's Patent Artificial Arm*, 3, 4.

156. Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 8.

157. Selpho, *Best Substitute*, 7–8, in *Artificial Limbs*, HMS; Figg and Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War," 459–60.

158. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 568.

159. Ibid., 579, 574.

160. Koven, "Remembering and Dismemberment," 1195.

161. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 567–68; "After the War," *Vanity Fair* 7, no. 167 (June 20, 1863), 128.

162. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Man That Was Used Up," 1839, in Poe, *Fall*, 127–28, 131, 133, 135–37. In his duality, the man that was used up has much in common with the confidence man and the showman, two other duplicitous yet mesmerizing figures of the era. See Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*; Harris, *Humbug*.

163. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 567–68, 577, 574. This connection between firepower and prosthetics continued through the twentieth century; in 1946, Northrup Aviation, a major supplier of aircraft during World War II, developed artificial arms using airplane parts (Jarvis, *Male Body at War*, 114).

164. Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 27.

165. Palmer, *Surgical Adjuvant*, 18.

166. On the Industrial Revolution and wartime production of weaponry, see Merritt Roe Smith, *Harper's Ferry Armory*.

167. Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 116; Selpho, *Best Substitute*, 6.

168. Marvin Lincoln, *Lincoln's Patent Artificial Arm*, 6.

169. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 577.

170. Selpho, *Best Substitute*, front cover; Marvin Lincoln, *Lincoln's Patent Artificial Arm*, 4.

171. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 577.

172. "Douglass' New Patent Artificial Leg" advertisement, *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, November 13, 1862.

173. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 577.

174. Drake, *Drake's Patent Artificial Legs*, 5–6.

175. Hudson, *Artificial Limbs*, 4; Captain J. H. Chapman to D. DeForrest Douglass, February 11, 1865, in Douglass, *Douglass Patent Artificial Limbs*, 8th ed., 10.

176. Edgar Crane to D. DeForrest Douglass, June 10, 1868, in Douglass, *Douglass Patent Artificial Limbs*, 11th ed., 34; Edward F. O'Brien to George B. Jewett, January 12, 1866, in Jewett, *Salem Leg*, Circular No. 7, 11.

177. Holmes, "Human Wheel," 574, 577.

178. Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, 42. Louis S. Warren has identified a similar strain in postwar America, calling it a "culture of copies." Middle- and upper-class Americans sometimes intentionally confused the fake and the real for pleasure and amusement (*Buffalo Bill's America*, 165–66).

179. Cummings, *Great War Relic*; Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 152.

180. "'Cut Off His Own Feet': A Soldier's Story Which Is Remarkable If True," *New York Morning Journal*, 1888, in Cummings, *Great War Relic*, 39; Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 154–55.

181. George E. Reed, "John W. January: The Claim That He Cut Off His Own Feet Denied: The True Story of Their Amputation," in Cummings, *Great War Relic*, 37–38.

182. Marten, "Not a Veteran," 215, 217.

183. Tanner, "*Our Limbs Are Lost!,*" 16. In this, as in other ways, white veteran amputees had a shared experience with slaves and fugitive slaves, who were forced to include such testimonials with their memoirs to establish their legitimacy. See Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 82, 84.

184. Hudson, *Mechanical Surgery*, 39; Hudson, *Artificial Limbs*, 2.

185. Wegner, *Phantom Pain*, 27.

186. Fabian, *Unvarnished Truth*, 45, 47.

187. Douglass, *Douglass Patent Artificial Limbs*, 8th ed., 5. Photographs and testimonials were documentary traditions used in the medical field and also in "freak shows" as methods that would convince audiences that the cases, cures, and exhibits were genuine. See Koven, "Remembering and Dismemberment," 1198, 1200.

188. Selpho, *Best Substitute*, iii.

189. "Palmer's Premium Artificial Leg!!" [advertisement], *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 67, no. 15 (November 13, 1862).

190. B. F. Palmer to Surgeon General William A. Hammond, 1862, in Palmer, *Palmer Arm and Leg*, 8–9.

191. Douglass, *Douglass Patent Artificial Limbs*, 11th ed., 48; Bly, *New and Important Invention*, 5.

192. Charles Ingham to Frank C. Morse from Bancroft, Mass., February 12, 1865, Box "1865," Frank C. Morse Papers, MHS.

193. Scarry, *Body in Pain*, 114.

194. Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, 130.

Conclusion. The Ruins of History

1. Osborn Hamiline Oldroyd Diary, May 22–23, 1863, in Oldroyd, *Soldier's Story*, 32, 34.

2. Frank C. Morse to His Wife from Camp Chase, September 24, 1862, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers, MHS.

3. Zenas T. Haines Letter, November 19, 1862, in Haines, *Letters*, 51. On relic collecting in both armies, see Michael DeGruccio, "Letting the War Slip through Our Hands: Material Culture and the Weakness of Words in the Civil War Era," in *Weirding the War*, ed. Berry, 15–35; Cashin, "Trophies of War."

4. Sarah Ripley to Her Daughter, Sophia Thayer, [1861], Folder 8, Box 1, Sarah Alden Ripley Papers, RIAS.

5. Albert G. Browne to His Wife from Savannah, February 5–9, 1865, Albert G. Browne to His Son, Eddie, from Beaufort, October 17, 1863, Albert G. Browne to His Wife from Beaufort, October 25–27, 1863, all in Albert Gallatin Brown(e) Civil War Letters, Folder 8, Box 1, Brown(e) Family Papers, RIAS; Edward A. Goodwin to His Father from Camp Butler, Va., June 14, 1861, Edward A. Goodwin Civil War Letters, in "Genealogy-Biography," ed. Gizzarelli, RIHS; Henry J. Anthony Civil War Diary, May 24, 1863, Box 10, Miscellaneous Manuscripts 9001-A, RIHS; John Fox to His Sister from near Savannah, December 26, 1864, Miscellaneous Folder, Box 23, Fox Family Papers, MHS; Wesley T. Harris Diary, November 11, 1861, Book 1, August 15, 1861–May 25, 1862, Harris Diaries, Item 1281, Folder 1, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S. Civil War Commandery of the State of Massachusetts Collection, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles Adams to His Brother, George, from Belle Plain Landing, Va., December 23, 1862, Charles Follen Adams Papers, MHS; Milton Woodford to His Wife, Lina, from Hilton Head, S.C., November 9, 1861, Milton Woodford Civil War Letters, Folder "1861–1863," Churchill-Woodford Family Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

6. John Lancaster to Adelaide Lancaster Waring from Camp McCausland, July 30, 1862, Adelaide Waring Correspondence, Folder 1, Section 1, Waring Family Papers, VHS; John Fox to His Father, July 29, 1863, Box 23, Fox Family Papers; Fannie Page Hume Braxton Diary, July 15, 1862, *Orange Review*, November 20, 1947; "Facsimile of a Confederate Shin Plaster," Frank Morse to His

Wife, Ellen from Washington, D.C., September 10–11, 1862, Box "1862–1863," Frank C. Morse Papers; Frank Morse to His Wife, Ellen, from Winchester, Va., November 23–24, Box "1864," Frank C. Morse Papers; John A. Fox to His Sister from Fayetteville, N.C., March 12, 1865, Miscellaneous Folder, Box 23, Fox Family Papers, MHS; Eben Fiske to His Sister, Emily Fiske, from Front Royal, June 1, 1862, Eben W. Fiske Civil War Letters, Fiske Family Papers, MHS. Taking letters, like ransacking homes, was another violation of privacy. Many civilians and soldiers burned their letters to prevent their capture by the enemy.

7. Sturken, *Tourists of History*, 178. See also Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*.

8. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 29; Emma Rogers to Helen Cary, August 20, 1862, Richard Cary Letters, MHS.

9. Fannie Page Hume Braxton Diary, April 3, 1862, *Orange Review*, September 11, 1947. On memento mori and violent deaths in American cultures of grief, see Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, esp. chaps. 3, 5; Sturken, *Tourists of History*, 178; Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, esp. chaps. 3, 4. In addition to gathering these items from the bodies of their friends, many soldiers had no compunction about taking objects off of bodies of the enemy and converting them into souvenirs. And many civilians were happy to receive them.

10. Edward Barker to His Mother from Fernandina, March 6, 1862, Edward Tobey Barker Letters, Box 4, Barker-Edes-Noyes Family Papers, MHS; Charles F. Morse to His Brother, Robert, from Stafford Court House, June 2, 1863, Folder 7, Box 1, Charles F. Morse Papers, MHS.

11. Lowenthal, *Past Is a Foreign Country*, 250.

12. Susan Stewart, *On Longing*, 139.

13. Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 223; Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, 8; Bagger, "Army Medical Museum," 297.

14. Bagger, "Army Medical Museum," 294, 296.

15. Ibid., 297; Herschbach, "Fragmentation and Reunion," 217.

16. J.S.F. and E.S., *Record*, 1.

17. Committee on the Fine Arts, *Catalogue*, 6, 7; J.S.F. and E.S., *Record*, 35; Department of Arms and Trophies, *Catalogue*, 7–49, 72–94; *New York Tribune*, April 9, 1864, *New York Times*, April 12, 17, 1864, quoted in Attie, *Patriotic Toil*, 207.

18. J.S.F. and E.S., *Record*, 40.

19. "Makeshift Museum," National Park Service Photographs Collection, in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 94–95.

20. Yuhl, *Golden Haze of Memory*, 3, 5–7.

21. Folly ruins were piles of rubble either deliberately constructed from scratch or misleadingly advertised as created by war or time; they were popular elements of European and some American pleasure gardens in the eighteenth century. See Woodward, *In Ruins*, 150; Yablon, *Untimely Ruins*, 44–45.

22. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "The Necessity for Ruins," in *Necessity for Ruins*, 102. On the impulse toward national unity in the years after the war, see Silber, *Romance of Reunion*; Blight, *Race and Reunion*.

23. Sturken, *Tourists of History*, 11; Huyssen, *Present Pasts*, 24; Max Page, *City's End*, 8, 27; Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 7–8. Two of the few American historical monuments that have preserved ruins in situ are the USS *Arizona* Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Oahu, Hawaii, and Fort Sumter National Monument. At Fort Sumter, the ruins suggest the massive firepower of Union siege guns trained on the fort between 1862 and 1865. In Oahu, the rusting wreck of the ship was initially seen as a problematic symbol of defeat, a "disgraceful spectacle" that was an impediment to memorialization (Slackman, USS Arizona *Memorial*, 17, 42, 45).

24. Sturken, *Tourists of History*, 108, 110; "History and Mission," "Building and Memorial Site," "Survivors," and "Construction Elements," all at Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum Website.

25. Lowenthal, *Past Is a Foreign Country*, 271, 280.

26. Herron, "Detroit," 663; Max Page, *City's End*; John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "Necessity for Ruins," 102. I am not arguing that Americans do not have a taste for destruction and ruins in other forms, however. As we have sought to remove ruins from the landscape, we have inserted them into novels and films. Films translate this desire for destruction into spectacle, re-creating the obliteration of urban and rural landscapes – especially New York and Los Angeles, in recent films depicting environmental apocalypse – over and over again for paying audiences.

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Album of Civil War Photographs Belonging to Alice Mason
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Bailey Family Letters, 1842–66 (Oscar Bailey Civil War Letters, 1861–63)
Barker-Edes-Noyes Family Papers, Boxes 4–5 (Edward Tobey Barker Diaries, 1862–64, and Letters, 1862–65)
Charles Edward Bolton Diary, 1864
Bowditch Family Papers (Nathaniel Bowditch Journal, September 24–October 8, 1862)
Albert Gallatin Browne Papers, Boxes 9 (Albert Gallatin Browne Diary, 1864), 11
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Dwight Family Papers
Fiske Family Papers (Eben W. Fiske Civil War Letters)
Daniel Foster Papers
Fox Family Papers, Boxes 21, 23, 24
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John B. Gould Papers
Dr. John Theodore Heard Scrapbook
Mellus Family Papers, Box 1859–69 (Charles A. Bailey Civil War Letters)
Charles F. Morse Papers, Boxes 1–2 (Charles F. Morse Civil War Letters)
Frank C. Morse Papers
John Owen Jr. Papers, 1863–65
Charles F. Read Papers
Lorenzo Dow Sargent Papers
Troup Family Papers (Civil War Diaries of George H. Troup and Charles A. S. Troup)
Alfred Metcalf White Letters, 1861–62
George Arms Whitmore Diary, 1862–63

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Kent and Thomas Family Papers, Box 2 (William Channing Thomas Civil War Letters, 1862–65)
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Oliver Marston Civil War Letter, April 19, 1865
John McDaniel Civil War Letters, 1862–63
Henry P. Moore Civil War Photographs, 1862–63
Julian A. Morey Diary, 1863
Napoleon B. Perkins, "The Memoirs of N. B. Perkins," ca. 1903
George H. P. Rowell Papers, 1862–63
Freedom Sanborn Diary, 1862–63
Nathaniel L. Truell Civil War Letters, 1862–64
Hiram Wentworth Diary, 1865

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Bradley Family Papers, Box 8, Folder 162 (Bradley Civil War Letters, 1862–63)
Brown(e) Family Papers, Box 1, Folders 6–23 (Albert Gallatin Brown[e] Civil War Letters, 1862–65)
Curtis Family Papers, Carton 1, Folder 39: (Greely Stevenson Curtis Civil War Letters, 1861–63)
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Geraldine Weston Dudley Holden Papers, Box 1, Folder 20 (Papers of Lydia Smith and Edna Tyler)
Holt-Messer Family Papers, Box 2, Folders 27–30
James Family Papers, Carton 1, Folder 9 (Mary Isabella Batchelder James Correspondence, 1862–65)

Poor Family Papers, Box 16, Folder 262 (Mary Pierce Poor Civil War Letters)
Sarah Alden Ripley Papers, Box 1, Folders 2, 8–17
Swanton Family Papers, Carton 1, Folder 25 (Henry Parker Worcester Civil War Letters)
Woman's Relief Corps (Mass.) Records, Box 1 (Order Books, vols. 1–5)

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Edward A. Goodwin Civil War Letters, 1861–62. In "Genealogy-Biography [of] Barrington Tiffany Family," ed. Nicholas Gizzarelli Sr. (typescript, 1981)
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Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection 9001-D
Box 5: Jacob Dunnell Correspondence, 1864–65 (David P. Sherman Civil War Letter, 1865)
Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection 9001-G
Box 3: Arthur E. Gilligan Civil War Diary, 1864–65; Benjamin Gladding Letters (William A. Sabin Civil War Letters, 1862–65)
Box 4: Michael Gormley Papers
Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection 9001-P
Box 3: David P. Patterson Letter, 1862; George H. Peck Diary, 1864–65
Box 4: Peleg E. Peckham Diary, 1865
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Emily Geiger Goodlett, "The Burning of Columbia by Sherman, February 17, 1865," 2nd ed. (typescript, n.d.)

William Henry Johnson Papers
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Civil War Era Letters (MSS 38-340-B)

Civil War Letters (MSS 12653, MSS 11338, MSS 13494, MSS 11027)
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William Silliman Hillyer Papers
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Captain Loomis L. Langdon Diary, 1865
Robert Larimer Diaries and Papers, 1863–65
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Philip Henry Pendleton Letters and Photograph, May 1864
Samuel Heisler Pendleton Diary, 1861–64
Photographs Collection
Photographs of Civil War Battlefields and Cemeteries, vols. 1–3
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Fred Seibel, "Dawn – April 3, 1865" (MSS 2531-P)
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Thomas W. Springer Diary, 1864
George Swarts Civil War Letters, 1863–64
John Tyler Diary, 1862
Paul Turner Vaughan Diary and Letters, 1862–64
Virginia Prints File
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George C. Young and I. A. Young Correspondence, 1861–65

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William Henry Tatum Papers, 1861–64
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